Alice-Mary Talbot

Faith Healing in Late Byzantium

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The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite

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In loving memory
of my father

PREFACE

Scholars in recent years have shown considerable interest in the writings and career of the patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople, who has been shown to be both an ecclesiastical reformer and a precursor of the hesychastic movement. Although he was rejected by nineteenth-century Bollandists from the pages of the *Acta Sanctorum* as a schismatic ("Patet ver in nostro opere locum non esse concedendum vitae hominis schismatici"),[1] Athanasios has long been revered as a saint by the Orthodox Church. The circumstances of the development of his popular veneration and canonization, however, have never been studied.

Over a decade ago, in the course of preparing an edition of the letters of Athanasios, I found at Dumbarton Oaks a microfilm of the Chalke manuscript containing the unpublished *Logos* of Theoktistos the Stoudite on the relics of Athanasios. Once I had completed my study of the turbulent life of the patriarch, I was able to turn my attention to the phenomenon of the growth of his posthumous cult and to prepare an edition of Theoktistos' *Logos* which describes numerous miracles attested at the tomb of Athanasios in his monastery on the hill of Xerolophos in Constantinople.

This study has benefited greatly from the advice of a number of friends and fellow Byzantinists. First and foremost, I am indebted to my mentor, Ihor Ševčenko, who read the entire typescript and made valuable suggestions for improving the text, translation, and notes. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, Angela Hero, and Jane Pugh were also kind enough to advise on the translation.

To John Callahan I am grateful for advice on philosophical mat-

1. *Acta Ss. Octobris,* XII (Paris, 1867), 419.

ters, and to Turner Bynum, M.D., for useful bibliography on modern medical explanations of faith healing. John Meyendorff made helpful comments on the introduction, as did Ruth Macrides who generously sent me the typescript of her article on canonization in the Palaiologan period.

Finally, I wish to thank Dr. Hans Veit Bayer, who shared with me the prosopographical data acquired by the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* which has not yet appeared in published form.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AnalBoll: *Analecta Bollandiana.*

Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*: H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959).

BHG^3: F. Halkin, ed. *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*^{3} [= *Subsidia hagiographica*, 8a] (Brussels, 1957).

Boojamra, *Ecclesiastical Reforms of Athanasius*: John Boojamra, *The Ecclesiastical Reforms of the Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople (1289-1293; 1303-1309)*, Ph.D. thesis, Fordham University, 1976.

BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*

Calotheti Vita Ath.: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀθανασίου, συγγραφεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Καλοθέτου, ed. by D. Tsames, Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα (Thessalonike, 1980), 453-502.

Darrouzès, *Regestes*, V: J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de CP. I, Les Actes des patriarches, fasc. V, Les Regestes de 1310 à 1376* (Paris, 1977).

DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*

ΕΕΒΣ: Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.

Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*: R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa, N.J., 1977).

Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*: R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*^{2}

(Paris, 1964).

Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I.3: R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I. Le Siège de CP. et le patriarcat oecuménique. 3, Les Églises et les monastères*[2] (Paris, 1964).

JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

Lampe: G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961-68).

Laurent, "La Direction spirituelle": V. Laurent, "La Direction spirituelle à Byzance. La correspondance d'Irène-Eulogie Choumnaina Paléologine avec son second directeur," *REB*, 14 (1956), 48-86.

_____, "La Fin du schisme arsénite": V. Laurent, "Les Grandes crises religieuses de Byzance. La fin du schisme arsénite," *Bulletin de la Section Historique, Académie Roumaine*, 26, 2 (1945), 225-313.

_____, *Regestes*: V. Laurent, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de CP. I, Les Actes des patriarches, fasc. IV, Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971).

Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*: E. Leutsch-F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1839; Hildesheim, 1965).

Logos: Theoktistos the Stoudite, Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου ΚΠ., *cod. Chalc.* 64, fols. 157^{r}-199^{r}, ed. Talbot, *infra.*

Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas*: J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London, 1964).

MM: F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860-90).

PG:*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne.

PLP: *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna, 1976-).

REB: *Revue des Études Byzantines.*

Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos": D. Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos à CP. et les reliques Vénitiennes de Saint

Athanase," *REB*, 19 (1961), 165-88.

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Theoctisti Vita Ath.: *Vita Athanasii* by Theoktistos the Stoudite, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Žitija dvuh Vselenskih patriarhov XIV v., svv. Afanasija I i Isidora I," in *Zapiski-istoriko-filologiceskago fakul'teta Imperatorskaga S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, 76 (1905), 1-51.

Tsames, Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα: D.G. Tsames, Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα (Thessalonike, 1980).

Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*: A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani Saeculis XIII et XIV Scripti Annorumque Notis Instructi* (Vatican City, 1964).

Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts in Italy*: A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1972).

Vita Lucae: *Vita Lucae Junioris*, ed. G.P. Kremos, Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ [= Φωκικά, I] (Athens, 1874), 25-62.

All references to Byzantine historians are to the Bonn edition, unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTION

I. The Life, Death, and Posthumous Cult of Athanasios

The Life of Athanasios

The future patriarch, Athanasios I of Constantinople, was born in Adrianople ca. 1230-35, and entered monastic life when he reached adolescence. In a restless search for the ideal location to pursue an ascetic and contemplative life, he moved from monastery to monastery and made a lengthy pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Among the monastic communities where he resided were Esphigmenou on Athos, Mt. Latros and Mt. Auxentios, Saint Lazaros on Galesion, and a double monastery which he founded on Mt. Ganos in Thrace. He also spent some time as a hermit near the Iveron monastery on Athos.

By 1289, Athanasios had gained a reputation for asceticism and came to the attention of the pious emperor Andronikos II, who chose him to succeed Gregory II of Cyprus on the patriarchal throne. Athanasios' patriarchal career was stormy; he stirred up controversy by his insistence on monastic discipline and on the obligation of bishops to reside in their sees, and by his intransigent opposition to the schismatic Arsenites. He was thus forced to resign in 1293, and spent ten years in retirement at the monastery he had founded on the hill of Xerolophos in Constantinople. Recalled to the patriarchate in 1303, he served six more years until his second deposition in 1309. Although he had many opponents in the Church, he was greatly beloved by the people of Constantinople for whom he was a true pastoral leader in the tradition of Saint John Chrysostom. He continually reminded them of their sins and urged repentance, but at the same time defended the poor

from injustice, fed the hungry in soup kitchens, clothed refugees, and ransomed prisoners.[1]

The brief biography I have sketched so far is familiar to Byzantinists. The fate of Athanasios after 1309, however, is not well known and has attracted little attention. I intend here to present new source material which makes it possible to complete the biography of the patriarch with an account of his death, the translation of his relics, the posthumous miracles at his tomb, his popular veneration, and eventual canonization. The most important new document is the oration of Theoktistos the Stoudite on the posthumous miracles of Athanasios, of which the Greek text and an English translation follow. The oration, entitled Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, is preserved in a unique copy in *cod. Const. Chalc. mon.* 64 [= Istanbul Patriarchate Library, nunc 57, olim 64], fols. 157^{r}-199^{r}. This late Palaiologan manuscript of 241 paper folios is entirely devoted to the perpetuation of the memory of the patriarch Athanasios and also contains his biography, an encomium, an *akolouthia* and various canons in his honor.[2]

The Final Years and Death of Athanasios

After Athanasios' second abdication from the patriarchal throne in September 1309,[3] he retired once more to the double monastery he had established at Xerolophos. Here he lived quietly, withdrawn from public affairs, concentrating on the spiritual guidance of the monks and nuns under his supervision. He is said to have been granted visions of the future, and sent prophecies about the civil war of the 1320s to Andronikos II.[4]

1. For biographical sketches of the patriarch Athanasios and complete bibliographical information, see Talbot, *Correspondence of Athanasius,* and Boojamra, *Ecclesiastical Reforms of Athanasius.* The primary sources are the *Histories* of Pachymeres and Gregoras, the patriarch's own correspondence, and two *Vitae:* one by Theoktistos the Stoudite (*Theoctisti Vita Ath.*), the other by Joseph Kalothetos (*Calotheti Vita Ath.*). The old edition of Kalothetos' *Vita* by Athanasios Pantokratorinos, in Θρᾳκικά, 13 (1940), 56-107, has now been replaced by the edition of D.G. Tsames in Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα (Thessalonike, 1980), 453-502.

2. See *Introduction, infra,* for full description of the manuscript.

3. Gregoras, *Hist.,* I, 258; *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 41; *Calotheti Vita Ath.,* 500.

The last secure historical notice of Athanasios occurs in 1310, when the emperor made an agreement with the Arsenites that Athanasios would never again be allowed to serve as patriarch; he must therefore have still been alive at this date.[5] Two letters of Athanasios can also be dated to May 1310.[6] There are indications, however, that he lived until 1315 or 1320. First of all, the *Vita* of Athanasios by Theoktistos states that he lived a long time after his abdication (χρόνος παρῆλθε πολὺς μετὰ τὸ λιπεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ).[7] We also know that the youthful Palamas had personal contact with Athanasios, since he mentions in the *Triads* that both Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, and Athanasios were his mentors.[8] John Meyendorff theorizes that Palamas met Athanasios at the monastery of Xerolophos after his second abdication.[9] It is most likely that Palamas sought out the retired patriarch between about 1313, when he renounced profane studies at the age of 17, and 1316, when he left the capital for Athos.[10].

The *terminus ante quem* of 1323 for the death of Athanasios can be established as follows. A woman named Katenitzina, who was possessed by an evil spirit, came to Constantinople to visit the relics of Athanasios soon after the conquest of Prousa by the Turks in 1326.[11] Since Athanasios had been dead three years when his remains were exhumed and transferred to the monastic church, 1323 is the latest possible date for his death, which can be placed fairly securely in the decade 1313-1323.[12] It is difficult to pinpoint

4. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 41; *Calotheti Vita Ath.*, 500.

5. Cf. Laurent, "La Fin du schisme arsénite," 296, 301.

6. Talbot, *Correspondence of Athanasius,* Epp. 113 and 114.

7. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 46.

8. Gregory Palamas, *Défense des saints hésychastes,* ed. J. Meyendorff (Louvain, 1973), *Triad* 1, 2, 12, p. 99.

9. Meyendorff, *Défense,* xl.

10. Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas,* 30, 32.

11. Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Logos,* chs.64-67.

12. Both V. Laurent and Athanasios Pantokratorinos dated the death of Athanasios to ca. 1315, without, however, giving any reasons; cf. Laurent, "La Direction spirituelle à Byzance," 56 and 62; Athanasios Pantokratorinos, Θρακικά, 13 (1940), 107, fn. 1. John Kantakouzenos, who was probably born ca. 1295

the day of his death, since manuscripts of his *synaxarion* place his death on October 24,[13] whereas his memory is now celebrated by the Greek Orthodox Church on the 28th of October.[14]

The Burial of Athanasios and Translation of His Relics

When their master died, the monks of Xerolophos, following his strict instructions, buried him in a simple grave in an open area within the monastic precincts and covered the body with earth and vine branches. The ground in which he was buried was extremely damp, and one would have expected his body to decay within months. Yet three years later, when the monks decided to build a baldachin over his grave, in the course of digging the foundations they found his corpse perfectly preserved. After exposure to the air, however, the body rapidly disintegrated.[15]

(cf. D.M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100-1460* [Washington, D.C., 1968], 35), mentions in a marginal note in one of his manuscripts (*Par. gr.* 1347, fol. 93^{v}) that he remembers seeing Athanasios in his youth; cf. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959), 34 and fn. 33. This information is not particularly helpful, however, as it could have been any time in the first or second decade of the 14th century.

13. *Iveron* 50, fol. 31^{v}, *cod. Chalc.* 64, fol. 29^{v}, and *cod. Atheniensis* 2434, fol. 135^{v}-136^{r}.

14. K. Doukakes, Μέγας Συναξαριστὴς πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν καθ' ἅπαντα τὸν μῆνα Ὀκτώβριον ἑορταζομένων (Athens, 1895), 455. Papadopoulos-Kerameus suggests that the reason for confusion might be that Athanasios died on October 24, but was not buried until October 28 (*Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, iii, fn. 1). The *synaxarion* of Theoktistos, however, specifically states that Athanasios was buried on October 24; *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, iv.

15. We know that the monastic complex at Xerolophos covered a fairly extensive area, since a patriarchal document of 1383 mentions vineyards on the grounds of the monastery (MM, II, 82).

Incorruptibility of the body was a typical sign of sanctity; for other Palaiologan examples, cf. the case of the patriarch Arsenios (Dositheos of Jerusalem, *Τόμος Χαρᾶς* [Jassy, 1705], 625; Laurent, "La Fin du schisme arsénite," Document VI, 308; Manuel Kalekas, *Contra Graecorum Errores, PG* 152: 211A), Meletios the Confessor (Theodore Agallianos in Dositheos of Jerusalem, *Τόμος Χαρᾶς*, 617 ff., 622, 625, 626, 633); Saint Nikodemos the Younger of Thessalonike (d. 1321) (Philotheos Kokkinos, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Νικόδημον τὸν νέον, ed. M.E. Gedeon, Ἀρχεῖον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας [Constantinople, 1911], 181-82). R.C. Finucane comments that a damp burial

The *Logos* (ch. 10) describes how the monks removed the body from its grave and placed it in a coffin, but does not mention the actual translation of the relics. This information is found only in a separate notice in the Chalke manuscript (fol. 147[r]) which states that the body was taken to the monastic church of Christ the Savior where it soon became the object of veneration.[16] The date of the translation was August 23, as we learn from the title of an *akolouthia* by the monk Ignatios for the translation of the relics.[17] The remains of the patriarch, clad most likely in episcopal garb, lay in an open wooden coffin, with an image of Athanasios painted on the inside of the coffin lid;[18] above the coffin hung an

---

encouraged the alteration of body fat "into a waxy substance known as adipocere, which resists deterioration"; cf. *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 23.

This preservation of the body in its original condition is not to be confused with the popular belief that the corpses of excommunicated Christians do not decay, but become bloated and swollen like the corpse of Michael VIII; cf. Philotheos of Selymbria, *PG* 154: 1237D-38A, and P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP*, 32 (1978), 314-15 and n. 46. See also D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274," *Studies in Church History*, VII (Cambridge, 1971), 138 and fn. 1, and H. Belting-C. Mango-D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Cami) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 26-27 and fn. 125.

16. ψυχαῖς τοίνυν ποθούσαις καὶ τρεμούσαις χερσὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐξελόμενοι τῷ κιβωτίῳ κατέθεσαν, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ κατέθεντο, ὃν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδείματο, σεμνὸν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ χαριέστατον. Cf. also *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 48, which mentions the church Athanasios built and dedicated τῷ ἑνὶ τῆς Τριάδος Σωτῆρι Χριστῷ, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ κατάκειται λείψανον.

17. *cod. Chalc.* 64 fol. 134[r]: μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ κγ'-Ἰγνατίου ἱερομονάχου ἀκολουθία εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ νέου.

18. We know the body was clothed because pilgrims stole pieces of his garments; cf. *Logos*, chs. 32, 63. We may deduce that the coffin was open from the remarks of Ignatios of Smolensk who visited the monastery of Athanasios in the late 14th c. and kissed his relics which were in an open casket (S.P. Khitrovo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* [Geneva, 1889], 138). The coffin in which Athanasios' relics were found in 1454 was wooden with a painted cover; *Acta Ss. Maii*, I (Paris-Rome, 1866), 257B: "benedictum istud corpus in grandi lignea capsa reperit, in cujus operculo ab intus depicta erat figura expressumque nomen S. Athanasii"; 257F-258A: "...ecclesia S. Athanasii, cujus corpus ibidem haberetur in capella coöperta plumbo, intra arcam ligneam et pictam." Cf. Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos," 169.

oil lamp.[19]

Popular Veneration and Posthumous Miracles

The relics soon gained a reputation for possessing miraculous healing powers. Athanasios had already performed several miracles during his lifetime. For example, one of his disciples, Hyacinth, had been immediately healed of a gangrenous sore when he touched the hem of Athanasios' garment. On a later occasion Athanasios revived Hyacinth when he fell off a roof and was knocked unconscious.[20] Athanasios was also indirectly involved in the recovery of two nuns, long afflicted with illness, after they prayed to the Virgin on his advice.[21]

In addition to the healing miracles, it is recounted that twice during the famine of 1306-07 the patriarch imitated Christ's distribution of the loaves. Although only fifty measures of wheat remained in the storehouse, he ordered his servant Christodoulos to distribute *thirty* measures to *each* of the poorer convents of Constantinople; miraculously, the supply of wheat held out through the entire distribution! On yet another occasion, when the patriarchal wheat supply had been virtually exhausted and there were only six measures left, Christodoulos was ordered by his master to give out one measure of grain to each poor person and was able to distribute 2,000 measures![22] The patriarch's miraculous powers were demonstrated again during his donation of gold *nomismata* to refugees; his purse proved bottomless and the supply of gold was never exhausted.[23] One miracle occurred even before Athanasios' patriarchate, when he was still a monk on Mt. Ganos in Thrace. One day, when a priest named Constantine Boutyras brought Athanasios some honeycomb, the holy man prayed that God should "sweeten" the life of the generous priest. And, indeed, for the next seven days every piece of food that Constantine ate, whether it was meat or cheese or fish or vege-

19. *Logos*, chs. 38, 57.

20. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 41-42.

21. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 42-43.

22. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 43-44.

23. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 44. For my translation of αἰχμάλωτος as "refugee," cf. Talbot, *Correspondence of Athanasius*, 329.

tables, tasted as sweet as honey![24]

At least eight miracles are attested during Athanasios' lifetime. It was no doubt his earlier reputation for miraculous healing, plus the remarkable preservation of his corpse from corruption, which attracted the faithful to his tomb. By the time Theoktistos wrote his *Oration on the Relics* (which was probably composed for one of the anniversaries of the translation of Athanasios' remains from their original grave to their final resting place in the church), thirty-nine posthumous miracles had occurred: twenty-one for men and eighteen for women. The cases described by Theoktistos provide some interesting data on the types of illness which affected fourteenth-century Byzantines and methods of faith healing.[25] The most common affliction by far was "possession by evil spirits," what we would today call "mental illness"—eleven cases out of thirty-nine, seven women and four men. Next most frequent were urinary problems, specifically incontinence and difficulty in urination—six cases. Blindness was apparently also an all-too-common affliction for Byzantines—five cases are mentioned—and three people healed by Athanasios were deaf or dumb or both. Other pilgrims to Athanasios' tomb were seeking relief from a variety of complaints, including dropsy, persistent fever, abscesses, abdominal pain, and cancerous sores on the leg. Many patients had suffered from their illness for a long time, had paid exorbitant fees to doctors whose remedies were useless,[26] and came to the relics in the monastery of Xerolophos as a last resort. The occupation of

24. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 20-21.

25. Finucane offers interesting statistics on the kinds of afflictions which were miraculously cured in 12th- and 13th-c. England; he also comments on the types of disease which were most likely to be 'cured' by faith healing: (1) self-limiting disease, (2) chronic disease with remissions, (3) psychogenic disorders; cf. *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 71-82, 103-12, and "Faith Healing in Medieval England: Miracles at Saints' Shrines," *Psychiatry*, 36 (August 1973), 341-46.

26. Like many other hagiographical accounts of miraculous cures, the *Logos* of Theoktistos attacks doctors who exacted exorbitant sums of money from their patients, but were unable to cure them; cf. *Logos*, chs. 31, 34, 37-38. For earlier examples, see H.J. Magoulias, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the 6th and 7th Centuries," *BZ* 57 (1964), 129-33, and Ch. I. Toul, «Τὰ ἰάματα τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων», ΕΕΒΣ 42 (1975-76), 279-80. For criticism of physicians in 12th- and 13th-c. English miracle collections, cf. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 59-67.

twelve of these pilgrims is specifically named: two priests, five monks, three nuns, and two vine-dressers.

For some it sufficed merely to pray before the relics or perhaps to touch the coffin, and they were healed. The most common method, however, of seeking a cure was to anoint oneself with the sanctified oil from the vigil lamp which hung over Athanasios' relics. This time-hallowed manner of transmitting miraculous healing power proved effective both in cases of mental disorder and physical ailments such as blindness, cancer of the leg, urinary problems, and abscesses.[27] The oil was usually applied externally to the specific diseased area, but on one occasion was taken internally. Thus the monk Theoleptos who had accidentally swallowed a leech, which then stuck in his throat, was cured by drinking the oil from the vigil lamp (which no doubt was harmless olive oil).[28]

Two other pilgrims, both suffering from internal disorders—a nun who was incontinent and a priest with terrible abdominal pains—were healed after drinking water which had been sanctified by contact with Athanasios' relics.[29] Theoktistos also mentions one instance of incubation, the custom of spending the night in a temple or church in the hope of a cure, which was practised in the temples of Asklepios in ancient Greece and still continues today in modern Greece in churches of the Haghioi Anargyroi, Saints Kosmas and Damian.[30] Thus a man called John Blangenos, who had been possessed by the devil for years, lay down in front of Athanasios' coffin. In his sleep he had a vision of Athanasios, who

27. E.g. *Logos,* chs. 27-28, 34, 35, 37-38, 40, 43-44. For examples from earlier saints' lives, cf. *Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune,* ed. P. van den Ven [=*Subsidia Hagiographica,* 32] (Brussels, 1962), 145; Sophronios, *Miracula Ss. Cyri et Joannis, PG* 87^3: 3429; V. Laurent, *La Vita Retractata et les Miracles Posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* [=*Subsidia Hagiographica,* 31] (Brussels, 1958), 52.

28. *Logos,* ch. 53.

29. *Logos,* chs. 39, 33.

30. Cf. E.J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore, 1945), and Carl Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna* (Princeton, 1951), 152-59, 171. See also A.J. Festugière, "Types Epidauriens de miracles dans la Vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune," *JHS* 93 (1973), 70-73, and M.G. Papageorgiou, "Incubation as a Form of Psychotherapy in the Care of Patients in Ancient and Modern Greece," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics,* 26 (1975), 35-38.

bade him open his mouth, made the sign of the cross over him, and ordered the devil to leave. When John awoke the next morning, he was completely delivered from the evil spirit.[31]

One of the most interesting methods of healing was the practise of burning tiny pieces of cloth stolen from Athanasios' garments and inhaling the fumes. This proved efficacious in the case of Maria Phrangopoulina, who had a menstrual disorder for twenty years. No doubt Maria took the pieces of cloth in conscious imitation of the woman in the Gospel of Saint Mark (5:25-34) who was healed of an issue of blood by surreptitiously touching the hem of Christ's robe. It was also, however, the method selected by the priest Theodore from Kartalimen, who was afflicted by a fever for ten months.[32]

31. *Logos,* ch. 29; cf. Magoulias, "Lives of Saints," 136: "The church building itself, in the practice of incubation, becomes a hospital." For an earlier parallel, cf. Sophronios, *Miraculi Ss. Cyri et Joannis, PG* 87^3:3577-80, where John the Libyan, who suffered from kidney trouble, was healed after the saints appeared to him in his sleep. On Sophronios, see now N.F. Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la Incubación Cristiana* (Madrid, 1975). For other examples of healing through incubation, see also *Miracula S. Artemii,* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra,* 1-75 *passim.*

32. *Logos,* chs. 31-32, 63. For taking bits of saints' clothing, cf. "Lobrede auf den H. Theodosios verfasst von Theodoros Bischof von Patrai," in *Der Heilige Theodosios,* ed. Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1890), 97; *Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune,* 45-46; and the comments of H. Magoulias in "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the 6th and 7th Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons," *Byzantion,* 37 (1967), 255-56.

In the 15th c. the Russian deacon Zosimos recounted that holy oil ran out of the left foot of the relics of Saint Theodora of Thessalonike and filled an urn placed underneath. The garments soaked with this holy oil were removed and divided up among pilgrims; cf. Khitrovo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient,* 208. I have not found any parallel for the burning of pieces of cloth and inhalation of the fumes.

The theft of bits of saints' clothing for personal use, to receive a miraculous cure, should not be confused with the large-scale theft of relics which is well documented in the medieval West; cf. Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

On at least one occasion a small-scale theft of a relic for personal use led not to a cure, but to even greater affliction. Thus the woman who stole a tooth of St. Nikodemos of Thessalonike in the 14th c. was struck with madness until she returned it; cf. Philotheos Kokkinos, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Νικόδημον τὸν νέον, ed. M.E. Gedeon, Ἀρχεῖον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας (Constantinople, 1911), 184.

Only one of Athanasios' posthumous miracles can be dated—to the year 1326. It involved the above-mentioned Katenitzina from Prousa in Bithynia, who for thirteen years had been continually tormented by a demon who made her shout obscenities and curses at passersby, bark like a dog, or laugh hysterically. After the conquest of Prousa by the Ottoman Turks in 1326, Katenitzina was brought before the victorious Orhan as a curiosity. When the Turkish emir threatened to slit open her belly to find the resident demon, the evil spirit retorted that if he was driven from his home, he would immediately move into Orhan's belly! The Turkish ruler then released Katenitzina who made her way to Constantinople and the monastery of Xerolophos, where she was cured after praying before the relics.[33]

Since Theoktistos implies that this miracle occurred some years before the time he was writing, one might suggest the 1330s as a date for his composition. We may then conclude that most of the miracles described in the *Logos* also took place in the third or fourth decade of the 14th century, and that by that time Athanasios was regarded by the local populace as a saint.[34] Indeed, judging by the hometowns of the pilgrims to his tomb, his fame had spread to the wider neighborhood of Constantinople, for example, to its western suburb of Rhegion, to Medeia and Bizye in Thrace, up the Bosphoros to Hieron, to the harbor town of Kartalimen, and to the village of Kroulla.[35] A passage in the *Antirrhetics* of Gregory Akindynos, probably to be dated ca. 1342, also testifies, in an exaggerated manner, to the spread of the cult of Athanasios and states that virtually the whole city of Constantinople and, indeed, all the cities of Christendom were worshippers of the relics of the patriarch.[36]

33. *Logos,* chs. 64-67.

34. Confirmation of this is found in the first *Triad* of Gregory Palamas (1338) which mentions the miracles which took place at Athanasios' tomb: τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγους τὸν πατριαρχικὸν ἐκόσμησε θρόνον, οὗ καὶ τὴν σορὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐτίμησε (Palamas, *Triad,* I, 2, 12, ed. J. Meyendorff, *Défense des saints hésychastes,* 99).

35. Medeia: *Logos,* ch. 43; Bizye: *Logos,* ch. 45; Hieron: *Logos,* ch. 30; Kartalimen: *Logos,* chs. 31, 44; Kroulla: *Logos,* ch. 37.

36. Gregory Akindynos, *Antirrhetic* 7:...ὅσους νῦν ἔχει τῶν ἑαυτῶν λειψάνων προσκυνητάς· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πᾶσα σχεδὸν ἡ πόλις, μᾶλλον δε πᾶσαι

The Hagiographers of Athanasios and His Canonization

As so often in Byzantium, popular veneration preceded the official canonization of a holy man. The case of Athanasios can perhaps shed some light on this little-studied procedure in the Byzantine church.[37] It is generally recognized that in the early church there was no official canonization of saints; martyrs and confessors for the faith were honored after their deaths through the common consent of the local Christian congregation. Miracles performed by the relics of the saints gave added proof of their sanctity, and the cult would spread. The names of saints were inscribed in registers such as *martyrologia, menologia,* and *synaxaria;* and their memory was celebrated on the anniversary of their death.[38] Such recognition of saints upon the initiative of clergy and people constitutes ἀναγνώρισις, to be distinguished from the later procedure of ἀνακήρυξις, or canonization.[39]

The increase in the cult of saints in the West between the sixth

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πόλεις Χριστιανῶν (*Monac. gr.* 223, fol. 356[r]). This unpublished passage was brought to my attention by Juan Nadal, who is preparing a critical edition of the *Antirrhetics.* Both Nadal (letter, April 1980) and Dr. Angela Hero (letter, November 1979) date this work ca. 1342.

37. Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the process of canonization in the Eastern church. The relevant bibliography is cursory in its treatment of the problem; e.g. Chr. Papadopoulos, Περὶ τῆς ἀνακηρύξεως ἁγίων ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (Athens, 1934); Constantine, Metr. of Serres, «Περὶ ἀναγνωρίσεως τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ», Θεολογία, 27 (1956), 609-15; Hamilcar S. Alivizatos, «Ἡ ἀναγνώρισις τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ», Θεολογία, 19 (1941-48), 18-52; Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, s.v. ἁγίων, ἀνακήρυξις; G.Winkler, *Heilige und Heiligenleben* (Recklinghausen, 1959), 5-10. H. Delehaye's *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité* [= *Subsidia Hagiographica,* 17] (Brussels, 1927) and *Les Origines du culte des martyrs* (Brussels, 1912) provide the basic background, but only for the early period. See also E.E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh v russkoi tserkvi* (Moscow, 1903).

I am grateful to Ruth Macrides for sharing with me her research on canonization in the Palaiologan period; her valuable article, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," has now appeared in *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies,* ed. by Sergei Hackel [= *Studies Supplementary to Sobornost,* 5] (London, 1981), 67-87.

38. Papadopoulos, Ἀνακηρύξεως, 3-5.

39. Alivizatos, Ἀναγνώρισις.

and tenth centuries brought about the need for greater ecclesiastical control, and the official approval of a bishop before the title of *sanctus* could be bestowed. Papal canonizations, which first took place in 973, became most numerous in the thirteenth century.[40] In the East the procedure continued for centuries to be less rigorous. As K. Ringrose has written about the period of iconoclasm, "Apparently in Byzantium in this period canonization grew out of popular acclamation with little formal supervision. I have no evidence that the church exercised any control over the writing of *vitae* or the veneration of new saints. When a saint became the object of a local cult, his name and festival day were recorded on the calendar of the monastery or local church with which he was identified. If his following became extensive, his name might be entered on the patriarchal calendar." [41]

Although it has been stated that canonization did not occur in the Eastern Church until the fourteenth century,[42] there is definite evidence for the canonization of Arsenios and more tenuous indications of the recognition of Joseph, both late thirteenth-century patriarchs. Ruth Macrides has shown that Arsenios' recognition by the Church was marked by the translation of his relics to Constantinople, and their deposition in Haghia Sophia. Laurent concluded that Joseph's sanctity was solemnly proclaimed by the synod (in an ἀνακήρυξις) in the presence of the emperor, but Macrides has argued that the ἀνακήρυξις merely stated that Joseph's standing was equal to that of patriarchs who had not resigned.[43] In the fourteenth century the number of holy men formally canonized rose to at least eight,[44] so clearly a shift had occurred in the official

40. *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* s.v. "canonization of saints (history and procedure)"; Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 130.

41. K. Ringrose, "Monks and Society in Iconoclastic Byzantium," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines,* 6 (1979), 135, fn. 12.

42. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* s.v. Heilig, 92.

43. According to Laurent, *Regestes,* no. 1461 Crit., and "La Fin du schisme arsénite," 259 and fn. 6, Arsenios (1254-60; 1261-64) was canonized by the patriarch Joseph after his death in 1273. Recent research by Ruth Macrides has shown, however, that Arsenios was not recognized as a saint until 1284, after the death of Michael VIII. Cf. "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," 73-79.

44. Meletios the Confessor (d. 1286) was canonized under the patriarch Isaias

procedure, perhaps a result of greater contact with the Latin Church after the Fourth Crusade and the Union of Lyons.

Even in the later Byzantine Empire, when formal canonization became more common, many saints received no official recognition, but only local popular veneration. About twenty men, mostly monks or churchmen, were commemorated as saints in the Palaiologan period, and *Vitae* are preserved for most of them,[45] but by no means were all officially canonized. For example, the thirteenth-century Nicene emperor John Batatzes, beloved by his people on account of his social concerns, was commemorated after his death in the area of Magnesia and Nymphaion and was the subject of a *Vita* composed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Yet he was not officially recognized as a saint by the Orthodox Church until the seventeenth century.[46] There were also 'degrees of canonization'. Thus Nikodemos the Younger of Thessalonike was officially declared a saint in the mid-fourteenth century after the discovery of his miraculously preserved body, but it was the archbishop of Thessalonike, not the patriarch of Constantinople, who presided over the ceremony.[47]

Scholars who have dealt with the topic of canonization in the Orthodox Church often single out the canonization of Gregory Palamas in 1368 as the clearest example of the procedure in Byzantium.[48] The cult of Palamas began immediately after his death in

(1323-32); cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes,* V, no. 2132. Nikodemos the Younger of Thessalonike (d. 1321) was recognized by the local archbishop; cf. M. Gedeon, Ἀρχεῖον, 182. St. Peter, Metropolitan of Kiev, had an official cult in Russia in the 1330s; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes,* V, no. 2192; and Philotheos recognized, in addition to Palamas, the three holy martyrs of Lithuania: Anthony, John and Eustathios (Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les Actes des patriarches, 6. Les Regestes de 1377 à 1410* [Paris, 1979], no. 2681a).

45. In a recent article, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Charanis Studies* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 84-114, Angeliki Laiou has analyzed almost all of the surviving *Vitae* of late Byzantine saints and presented pertinent bibliographic information.

46. Cf. D.J. Constantelos, "Emperor John Vatatzes' Social Concern: Basis for Canonization," Κληρονομία, 4 (1972), 92-104, and A. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," *BZ,* 14 (1905), 193-233.

47. Cf. M. Gedeon, Ἀρχεῖον, 173-85.

48. E.g. Papadopoulos, Ἀνακηρύξεως, 5 ff. and Alivizatos, Ἀναγνώρισις, 37 ff.

1359, especially at Thessalonike, where a church was erected in his honor. He was also venerated at the Laura on Athos, at Kastoria, and at the monastery of the Akataleptos in Constantinople; his icon had been painted, and posthumous miracles had occurred before the synod issued the decree of 1368 which formally established at Haghia Sophia the feast day of Palamas.[49]

It took the Church several decades to grant official recognition to Athanasios, even though within ten years of his death Athanasios was considered to be a saint by the local populace of Constantinople; sufficient evidence is the miraculous cures of pilgrims to his tomb, one of which (that of Katenitzina) can be securely dated to 1326. Athanasios was first commemorated by the monks of his own monastery; for this purpose the necessary hagiographical works were composed by the monks Theoktistos the Stoudite and Ignatios. Theoktistos wrote a *synaxarion,* a *Vita,* an *Encomium,* the *Logos* on the translation of his relics, and several canons.[50] It is impossible to date any of these works with certainty, but it is plausible that the *Vita* and *Encomium* were written in the 1320s, shortly after Athanasios' death, and the *Logos* some years later in the 1330s.[51] The detailed descriptions in the *Logos* of the miraculous posthumous cures, providing the name, hometown and/or profession of each cured pilgrim, read like a dossier of evidence for canonization.

The monk Ignatios composed *akolouthiai* for both of Athanasios' feast days, October 24 (his death) and August 23 (the translation of his relics).[52] Vitalien Laurent has suggested that this Ignatios should be identified with the second spiritual director of

49. Cf. Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas,* 111-12; Philotheos, *Encomium, PG* 151: 648D-649A; *Tomus contra Prochorum Cydonium, PG* 151: 711-12.

50. The text of the *synaxarion* is included in the introduction to Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition of the *Theoctisti Vita Ath.* (pp. iv-vi). The editor erroneously attributed the *synaxarion* to Theosteriktos as the result of a misreading of the marginal note, Θεοκτίστου Στουδίτου (*Iveron* 50, fol. 31^{v}).

51. The *Logos* refers to the *Vita* (chs. 3, 70), and therefore must be a later work. In the *Logos* Theoktistos describes the miraculous cure of Katenitzina in 1326 (chs. 64-67) with the perspective of several years, as if he were writing 5-10 years later about this event.

52. These *akolouthiai* are preserved in *Iveron* 50, fols. 2^{r}-39^{v}, *Iveron* 369, fols. 3^{v}-58^{v}, and in *Chalke* 64, fols. 1^{r}-38^{r}, 134^{r}-156^{r}.

Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, abbess of the convent τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου Σωτῆρος.[53] In letters to her second director, written ca. 1335-39, Irene-Eulogia asked him to send her a copy of his work on the patriarch Athanasios, τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἀθανασίου σύγγραμμά σου.[54] He replied that it was difficult for him to comply with her request, since the work existed in two versions: the definitive version was unavailable since it had been sent to Thessalonike; only the rough draft was to be found locally "in the monasteries of the famous Athanasios."[55] It seems improbable that the final version of the *akolouthiai* would be sent to Thessalonike, and the rough drafts remain at Xerolophos. Perhaps the σύγγραμμα is another work on Athanasios which has not survived. In any case, whether or not Laurent is correct in his hypothesis, it is clear from the letters of Irene-Eulogia that in the 1330s hagiographical writings about Athanasios were being composed, were in demand, and had circulated as far as Thessalonike.

Another hagiographer of Athanasios was Joseph Kalothetos who composed his *Vita* probably in the late 1340s.[56] Clearly Kalothetos set down his *Vita* after the *Logos* of Theoktistos, since he writes that he need not include Athanasios' miracles which have already been described by another writer.[57]

In addition to literary compositions, another necessary element of the cult of a saint was the creation of a visual image for veneration by his or her disciples. Thus the followers of Gregory Palamas revered his icon long before his official canonization,[58] and the patriarch Philotheos, upon receiving the relics of the holy martyrs

53. V. Laurent, "La Direction spirituelle," 64-68.

54. *Letter* 1; cf. Laurent, "La Direction spirituelle," 62-63. An edition of the correspondence of Irene-Eulogia is being prepared by Dr. Angela Hero, who has kindly furnished me typescripts of her transcriptions from *cod. Scorial. gr.* Φ-III-11.

55. Irene-Eulogia, *Letters* 2 and 4.

56. For editions by Athanasios Pantokratorinos and D.G. Tsames, see fn. 1, *supra*. A date of composition after 1347 was proposed by Tsames in Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα, 429.

57. *Calotheti Vita Ath.*, 501: ἐπειδὴ πρὸ ἡμῶν μικρά τινα τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου θαυμάτων κάλλιστα διεξειργάσθησαν ἱερῷ τινι καὶ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς διέθηκα, δεῖν ἔκρινα σιωπῇ ταῦτα παρελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ λόγου βλέψαι πέρας.

58. Philotheos, *Encomium Gregorii Palamae*, *PG* 151: 648D.

of Lithuania, ordered that they should be honored with "*images,* venerations and annual celebrations."[59] In the same way the monks at the monastery of Athanasios fashioned at least two images of him—one on the lid of his coffin, the other a portable icon which could be carried in procession.[60] The attitude of the monks is reflected in a passage of the *akolouthia* of Ignatios, "We bless thee, hierarch of Christ, and honor your holy icon as an image of your divine form (i.e., of the way you appear in Heaven)." [61]

There is a reference in the *Logos* (ch. 30) to an image of the saint near the coffin, but it is not clear whether the allusion is to the painting on the coffin lid, a portable wooden icon, or even a fresco painted on the wall.[62] Hardly any trace survives of the artistic representation of Athanasios;[63] this is not surprising, however, since, as I shall attempt to demonstrate below, his cult was limited to his own monastery in Constantinople, to Athos, and perhaps Thessalonike and Ganos. I have been able to locate only one icon of Athanasios, an eighteenth-century example from the church of Saint Charalambos in Ganos; it depicts an elderly man in patriarchal garb with a long white beard, seated on a throne, holding an

59. M. Gedeon, Ἀρχεῖον, 173: εἰκόσι καὶ προσκυνήμασι καὶ τελεταῖς ἐτησίοις.

60. For the representation on the coffin lid, see fn. 18 *supra*; for the portable icon, cf. Philotheos, *Tomus synodicus II contra Prochorum Cydonium, PG* 151: 712: καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα ἔφερον ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κατὰ Κυριακὴν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας.

61. *Iveron* 50, fol. 10^{v}: μακαρίζομέν σε ἱεράρχα Χριστοῦ καὶ τιμῶμεν τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα σου, ὡς ἀντίτυπον τῆς θείας σου μορφῆς. The emotional response evoked in the monks by the image of Athanasios is also expressed in a poem by Basil, which is copied in handsome gold uncials at the beginning of *Iveron* 50, fol. 1^{v}, and is edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his introduction to the *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* iii: ἔρωτι τῷ σῷ καρδίαν τετρωμένος/ἱμειρόμην μάλιστα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα/τὴν σὴν βλέπειν, μέγιστε πατέρων κλέος. These verses may be an indication that at least one 14th-c. manuscript of Theoktistos' *Vita Athanasii* had a miniature of Athanasios which served as the model for the 17th-c. portrait in *Iveron* 369 (fol. 3^{r}).

62. Cf. the remarks of Doula Mouriki in "The Portraits of Theodore Stoudites in Byzantine Art," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 20 (1971), 273, who postulates that Stoudite funerary portraits were not on portable panels, but "more probably in fresco or mosaic on a vertical surface above the tomb of the three Stoudites."

63. One might note that no portable icons are preserved of Theodore the Stoudite; cf. Mouriki, "Portraits," 277.

open book.[64] There is also a poorly preserved miniature of Athanasios in an early seventeenth-century Athonite manuscript (*Iveron* 369, fol. 3[r]).

After the creation of a hagiographical tradition and visual image, the next step for the disciples of Athanasios was to expand the cult beyond the confines of his own monastery by carrying his icon in procession to Haghia Sophia. According to a very interesting statement made in 1368 by the patriarch Philotheos (1353-54; 1364-76), "When God glorified him [Athanasios] through miracles, and the Church had not yet officially recognized him, the monks of his monastery held a marvelous celebration, and brought his holy icon in the Great Church on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, and celebrated his memory throughout the city for many years." Then the case for his canonization was brought before the synod, he was officially recognized, and "his memory was celebrated in the Great Church." [65]

The synodal document has not survived, and it is impossible to date the canonization with any precision. Certainly it took place before 1368 when Philotheos alludes to the case of Athanasios as a parallel for his canonization of Gregory Palamas. Since only a few holy men in the fourteenth century received official recognition by the Church,[66] it seems worthwhile to speculate on the reasons why Athanasios was singled out for such an honor. The most tempting hypothesis is that he was revered as a precursor of Palamite hesychasm and was canonized in the 1350s to bolster the official recognition of Palamism as orthodox doctrine. There is considerable evidence for veneration of Athanasios by Palamites.[67]

64. Θρακικά, 15 (1941), 394-95.

65. *Tomus Synodicus II contra Prochorum Cydonium, PG* 151: 712A-B; Darrouzès, *Regestes,* V, no. 2540, pp. 453-54. I am greatly indebted to the R.P. Jean Darrouzès who first brought this passage to my attention.

66. Cf. fn. 44 *supra.*

67. This relationship has already been noted by Meyendorff; cf. *Gregory Palamas,* 22, 24. Boojamra remarks that Athanasios cannot have been considered a precursor of hesychasm if it is defined in the narrow sense, but in a broader interpretation "as a general movement of reform based on maximalism and Christian purity"; cf. *Ecclesiastical Reforms of Patriarch Athanasius,* 200. One should also note, however, that Athanasios was admired by some anti-Palamites, like Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina (see fn. 54, *supra*), Akindynos (fn. 36 *supra*), and

First of all, Palamas himself referred to him as his spiritual mentor,[68] and in 1341 Palamas and his followers used the monastery of Athanasios as a meeting place with Akindynos.[69] Athanasios' two principal hagiographers, Theoktistos and Joseph Kalothetos, were both Palamites.[70] It is probably not coincidental that Philotheos linked the canonizations of Athanasios and Palamas in his *Tomos* of 1368.[71] Most interesting is a note (from the mid-fourteenth century?) found in *cod. Athen.* 2583 with a florilegium (attributed to Athanasios) of texts supporting hesychastic views. In the French translation of Jean Darrouzès, this note reads as follows: "Extrait d'un livre ancien composé par le saint patriarche Athanase de Constantinople qui contient des extraits (συνάγματα) des grands et saints pères théologiens contre presque toutes les hérésies et sur d'autres questions de l'ancien temps. Vers la fin du livre, avec un sens très prophétique, il a recueilli et composé un traité (πραγματεία) tiré des grands saints pères et théologiens. Il nous transmet et nous montre très clairement notre foi et la tradition commune des Pères, comment dès l'antiquité pensaient les saints sur l'essence et l'opération de Dieu. Cet ouvrage fut composé par le patriarche Athanase, il y a cinquante ans et plus, avant que l'athée et latinophrone Barlaam ait énoncé avec ses partisans le dogme plusieurs fois condamné par la sainte Église catholique et apostolique." [72]

Which patriarch had most reason to canonize Athanasios? Both

Nikephoros Gregoras (*Hist.* I, 180, 182, 184). Irene-Eulogia does allude in *Letter* 3 to the antipathy of certain people (ἀηδία τινῶν) to Athanasios, thus reminding us that the patriarch continued to be a controversial figure even after his death.

68. *Triad* I, 2, 12; ed. by Meyendorff, *Défense des saints hésychastes,* 99.

69. Joseph Kalothetos, *Logos* to Kalekas, *ms. Pantokrator* 251, fols. 151^{r}-153^{v}; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes,* V, no. 2212, pp. 165-66.

70. Theoktistos wrote verses in honor of Palamas; cf. P. Chrestou, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα, II (Thessalonike, 1966), 163. Kalothetos was a well-known supporter of Palamas and accompanied him to the synod of 1341; Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas,* 20, fn. 29, and 51, and Tsames, Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα, 23-24.

71. *PG* 151:712A-B.

72. J. Darrouzès, "Conférence sur la primauté du Pape à Constantinople," *REB* 19 (1961), 78.

Kallistos (1350-53; 1355-63) and Philotheos (1353-54; 1364-76) are prime candidates as supporters of Palamas who spread his doctrine through their hagiographical works.[73] Preference should perhaps be given, however, to Kallistos who had two special links with Athanasios; before his elevation to the patriarchate he was abbot of the Athonite monastery of Iveron, where Athanasios had an important cult,[74] and at the end of his first patriarchate in 1353 he retired to the monastery of Athanasios at Xerolophos until his actual deposition by the synod.[75] Although no other canonizations can be specifically attributed to Kallistos, ca. 1360-61 he did initiate the inquiry at Thessalonike into the miracles of Palamas which led to his eventual official recognition at the end of the decade.[76]

Despite the recognition of the sanctity of Athanasios by the Orthodox Church, the spread of his cult seems to have been fairly limited. The Chalke manuscript of the hagiographical works devoted to his memory (which I assume to have come originally from Xerolophos),[77] coupled with literary evidence, suggests that the primary center of his veneration was his own monastery on Xerolophos where his remains were preserved until 1454. We know, for instance, that the Russian pilgrim Ignatios of Smolensk visited Athanasios' monastery in the late fourteenth century and kissed his relics.[78] The other monastery where Athanasios was

73. Cf. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur,* 272. Kallistos wrote *Lives* of Gregory the Sinaite and Theodosios of Tirnovo; Philotheos composed biographies of Isidore, Sabas the Younger, Nikodemos and Gregory Palamas. It is an interesting coincidence that the two patriarchs most likely to have canonized Athanasios were both deposed from the patriarchal throne and then restored, like their illustrious predecessor.

74. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur,* 774. For the cult of Athanasios at Iveron, see fn. 79 and 81, *infra.*

75. Gregoras, *Hist.,* III, 188, 195.

76. Darrouzès, *Regestes,* V, no. 2430.

77. Since this manuscript contains the unique extant copy of the *Logos* on the translation of Athanasios' relics, it seems reasonable to assume that it was a copy belonging to the monastery which possessed his remains.

78. S.P. de Khitrovo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), 138. The relevant passage is translated as follows by George Majeska in his forthcoming book, *Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Evidence of the Russian Travellers (Dumbarton Oaks Studies):* "We went to the monastery of St. Athanasius, the patriarch to whom the Holy Mother of God gave the patriarchal

especially venerated was Iveron on Mt. Athos where his cult has continued to the present day. In the 1270s, Athanasios lived as a hermit in a cave near Iveron,[79] and three manuscripts containing hagiographical works about him are still preserved in the monastic library.[80] In a small chapel on the site of Athanasios' cave the feast day of the hermit-turned-patriarch is still celebrated.[81]

As for the veneration of the saint on the holy mountain of Ganos in Thrace, the only surviving evidence is the icon of Athanasios preserved there in the church of Saint Charalambos;[82] it is, however, a logical site for his cult because of his lengthy residence in that area and foundation of a double monastery.[83] The evidence for a cult in Thessalonike is even more tenuous—only the testimony of Irene-Eulogia's spiritual director who had sent to that city his work on Athanasios.[84]

The Vicissitudes of the Relics of Athanasios after the Fall of Constantinople

The saintly remains of Athanasios were safely preserved in his monastery until the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. In December 1454, Domenego Zottarello, a Venetian merchant who came to Constantinople on business, was told by a Greek priest about the relics of Athanasios. As a result of his concern about the

staff, and kissed the relics of his body."

79. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 11-12; *Calotheti Vita Ath.,* 475; Athanasios Pantokratorinos, Θρακικά, 13 (1940), 79, fn. 2. A colophon in a 17th-c. manuscript (*Iveron* 369, fol. 152^{v}) states that the book was dedicated to "the monastery of the patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople at the skete of Iveron."

80. In addition to *Iveron* 50 and 369, no. 504 in the library is a 17th-c. manuscript which contains the *Vita* of Athanasios rendered in the vernacular. It should also be noted that other monastic libraries on Athos possess manuscripts of the *Vita* of Athanasios. Thus Lambros records a 17th-c. manuscript of the βίος καὶ πολιτεία Ἀθανασίου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως at Dionysiou (no. 3685), and, of course, the primary copy of the *Calotheti Vita Athanasii* is at Pantokrator (no. 251).

81. Athanasios Pantokratorinos, *loc. cit.*

82. Cf. fn. 64, *supra.*

83. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 13-17; *Calotheti Vita Ath.,* 476-80.

84. See p. 25 and fn. 55, *supra.*

possible destruction of holy relics by the Ottomans, the merchant decided to transfer them to Venice for safekeeping. Zottarello sent the ship's carpenter to the church at Xerolophos where he found the relics reposing in a coffin with an inscription identifying them as the remains of Saint Athanasios. The merchant's agent put the relics in a bag and carried them back to the ship where their miraculous power was immediately revealed. For that very night the ship ran aground, but escaped serious damage. In the spring of 1455, Zottarello took the relics back with him to Venice in the mistaken belief that they were the remains of the fourth-century Athanasios, Patriarch of Alexandria. The misadventures of the relics have continued ever since. The head, which was separated from the body in Venice and placed in the church of San Girolamo, was destroyed by a fire in 1705. The other relics remained in the convent church of Santa Croce on the Giudecca until 1806 when they were transferred to San Zaccaria.[85] The *Acta Sanctorum* entry for Athanasios of Alexandria describes twenty-one miracles effected by the relics after their arrival in Venice.[86] Ironically, in the mid-twentieth century the remains of Athanasios became the focal point of ecumenical services at the church during the Week of Unity, a strange fate indeed for an anti-Unionist patriarch who despised all Latins.[87] In 1973, after a stay of half a millennium in Venice, the relics, still believed to be those of the fourth-century church father, were transferred to Alexandria on the 1600th anniversary of his death as a gift to the Coptic Orthodox Church.[88]

II. Theoktistos the Stoudite and the *Logos* on the Translation of the Relics of Athanasios

Marginal notes in *Chalke* 64 attribute to Theoktistos the Stoudite the *Vita* of Athanasios (fol. 39[r]), the *Encomium* (fol. 107[r]), the *Logos* on the relics (fol. 157[r]), and the canons in honor

85. Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos," 165-88; S. Tramontin, A. Niero, etc., *Culto dei santi a Venezia* (Venice, 1965), 202-03.

86. *Acta SS., Maii I* (Paris and Rome, 1866), 261-62.

87. Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos," 185-87.

88. *Al Montada,* VII (May-June, 1973), 5; Boojamra, *Ecclesiastical Reforms of Athanasius,* 236, fn. 4.

of Athanasios (fol. 199bis^{r}, 203^{r}, 207^{r}, 212^{r}, 216^{r}, 220^{r}, 224^{v}, 227^{v}, 231^{v}, 235^{v} and 239^{r}). A note in *Iveron* 50 (fol. 31^{v}) also identifies him as the author of the *synaxarion* which is inserted in the *akolouthia* of Ignatios. The Stoudite monk Theoktistos is known only from his writings.[89] In addition to his works on Athanasios, miscellaneous prayers and canons to Christ, the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, and other holy figures have survived. He is known to have been a supporter of Gregory Palamas in whose honor he wrote a quatrain.[90] Some of his hagiographical writings must be lost, however, since he refers to the composition of a number of *vitae* and *encomia,* but only those of Athanasios have been preserved.[91]

Any biographical information on Theoktistos must be inferred from the internal evidence of his writings. He was a contemporary of Gregory Palamas and, like Palamas, had met the aged Athanasios,[92] probably in the second decade of the fourteenth century after his second abdication from the patriarchal throne. By the time he composed his *Vita* of Athanasios in the 1320s, he was already an established hagiographer and hymnographer.[93] The epithet "Stoudite" of course indicates that he was a monk at the Stoudios monastery, but this is puzzling since one would have expected this ardent disciple of Athanasios to be a member of the monastic community at Xerolophos. Certainly he was intimately familiar with events at Xerolophos and in the 1320s, personally

89. For brief notes on Theoktistos, see Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur,* 700; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche,* III (Berlin, 1952), 991, and, now, *PLP,* no. 7498.

90. See *Appendix B* for a complete listing of the works of Theoktistos and the manuscripts in which they are preserved. Theoktistos' composition of canons was in the tradition of the Stoudios monastery, which in the 9th c. was a center of Byzantine hymnography; cf. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1949), 116, 199. Also see *Appendix A* for discussion of the erroneous dating of Theoktistos to the 9th c. by Wellesz and others.

91. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 1: ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν ἐτιμήθησαν οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλοι καὶ λίαν εἰλικρινῶς ἠγαπήθησαν. τούτων ἐνίους μὲν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς ὡς ἐνὸν κατεστέψαμεν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ λόγοις ἐγκωμίων κατεκοσμήσαμεν, τινῶν δὲ καὶ βίους συνεγραψάμεθα...

92. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 4.

93. See fn. 91, *supra.*

observed the reformed behavior of Katenitzina after she was healed of demonic possession and became the nun Athanasia at the female convent founded by Athanasios.[94] Theoktistos was also acquainted with Katenitzina's husband who was able to escape the Turks and follow her to Constantinople through the miraculous intervention of Athanasios, and who was also tonsured at the monastery of Xerolophos.[95] Perhaps this discrepancy can be resolved if one assumes that Theoktistos first resided at the monastery of Xerolophos as a disciple of Athanasios, but moved to Stoudios in the latter part of his monastic career.[96] He evidently moved freely about Constantinople, since he mentions seeing Katenitzina raving in the streets[97], and cites as informants: the monk Hilarion, who was bedridden at the monastery of the Anastasis; Joseph, porter of the Peribleptos monastery; and two Stoudite monks, the *presbyteros* Hierotheos and Kouroupes Agathon.[98] The verses in honor of Palamas would seem to indicate that he lived into the 1340s and the period of the hesychast controversy.

Theoktistos composed the *Logos* in two distinct levels of style.[99] The very lengthy introduction (chs. 1-25), which describes the death and saintly character of Athanasios, is couched in elevated language, replete with classical and biblical allusions, apologies for the author's inability to do justice to his subject (ch. 16), invoca-

94. *Logos,* ch. 67: ταύτην σχεδὸν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πᾶσα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄψει παρελείφαμεν, οὐ μόνον νῦν ὅτε δὲ κοσμίως κατὰ μοναχὰς ἔσταλται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ὅτ' ἀκόσμως ἀνὰ τὰς ἀγυιὰς καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς περιήρχετο, πανικώτερον ἀλλομένη τε καὶ βακχεύουσα.

95. *Logos,* chs. 68-69.

96. This was quite common at the time; cf. the case of Athanasios himself, who was constantly on the move from one monastery to another in his earlier years, as well as Hierotheos of Stoudios, who was originally at Esphigmenou on Athos (*Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 6).

97. See fn. 94, *supra.*

98. Hilarion: *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 9-10; Joseph: *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 18; Hierotheos: *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 6; Kouroupes Agathon: *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 35.

99. On levels of style in Byzantine literature, see the recent article of Ihor Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 31 (1981), 289-312.

tions of the spirits of Plato and Aristotle (chs. 17-18), extended similes (ch. 4) and series of rhetorical questions (ch. 24). Before launching into his account of the posthumous miracles, Theoktistos inserts a transitional passage (ch. 26), most of which is lifted *verbatim* from the tenth-century *Vita Lucae Junioris.*[100] The beginning of this passage is essentially an apology, "Let me introduce sordid and humble matters among the lofty and pure, and let me commemorate the posthumous miracles of the great man." In accordance with the shift in subject matter, the style changes to a simpler language with only a few biblical allusions and virtually no classical references. There are occasional digressions, however, on Theoktistos' inadequacies as a panegyrist; in these paragraphs he lapses back into the style of the first section, and classical allusions reappear (chs. 42, 54, 58). The narrative descriptions of the miracles are direct and straightforward and seem appropriate for the common people who figure in the stories: the vinedresser Batatzes who was possessed by an evil spirit (ch. 28), the monk Theoleptos who swallowed a leech (ch. 53), or the boy Manuel who was cured of cancerous leg sores (ch. 34).

Theoktistos' familiarity with classical authors, which is also apparent in his earlier *Vita* of Athanasios,[101] seems extensive, if somewhat superficial. One suspects that, like Gregory Palamas, he was first educated in the classical tradition before pursuing a monastic vocation. The text of the *Logos* indicates that he had some acquaintance with Plato (ch. 18) and Aristotle (ch. 17), Plotinos (ch. 5), Homer (chs. 42, 56), the tragedians (ch. 54), Herodotos (chs. 21, 64) and Thucydides (ch. 25), Plutarch (ch. 15), Aelian (chs. 21, 55), and some of the masters of rhetoric like Isocrates and Demosthenes (ch. 25). His knowledge of these classical authors seems superficial, however, in that he misat-

100. Ed. Georgios P. Kremos, Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ [=Φωκικά, I] (Athens, 1874), 54.

101. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 1: allusions to Demosthenes, Pythagoras, and Plato; *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 4: allusions to Cato, Brutus, Pericles and Phokion (all from Plutarch's *Lives*); *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 13: allusions to Gyges and Peleus. Cf. the remarks of H. Delehaye in "La Vie d'Athanase, Patriarche de Constantinople (1289-93; 1303-09)," *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* [=*Subsidia hagiographica,* 42] (Brussels, 1966), 127 (reprinted from *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire,* 17 [1897]).

tributes some quotations and shows confusion occasionally in his use of sources. For example, he cites as a quotation from Aristotle the phrases τέχνην τεχνῶν and ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν (ch. 17), which are actually found in the commentator Ammonios. He also confuses the Prussians (or Prutheni) of the Baltic with the Britanni of Britain.[102]

The ambivalent position of Theoktistos as a Byzantine monk caught between the pagan classical tradition and his Christian faith is shown by his extensive references to ancient authors and, at the same time, his disparagement of them. He comments that all the rhetorical embellishments of pagan writers would not be sufficient to portray an adequate picture of his holy master (ch. 25). His account of the posthumous miracles of Athanasios will provide a greater feast for the ears of his listeners than the fabulous banquet given by Alexander the Great after his triumph over Darius (ch. 55). He rejects the story of the apple of Paris as a "foolish tale" (ch. 56) and, after making an allusion to Hermes and Herakles, apologizes for "interjecting some nonsense of the pagans into our celebration" (ch. 10).

The scattered and occasionally erroneous references to a wide variety of classical authors suggest that Theoktistos was sometimes working from memory, was other times drawing on lexica and handbooks of sources, and did not work directly from manuscripts of these writers. Even the one lengthy paraphrase from Aelian about the banquet of Alexander (ch. 55) could have been adapted from a handbook, although manuscripts of Aelian no doubt circulated in fourteenth-century Constantinople.[103] Where did Theoktistos find his classical sources? Certainly not at the monastery of Xerolophos, whose founder disdained classical learning and had little use for secular books.[104] Perhaps Theoktistos found some classical writings in the library of Stoudios, which, according to N. Eleopoulos, included secular and

102. Cf. commentary on *Logos,* ch. 64. In the *Vita Athanasii* (p. 40, ll. 15-16), Theoktistos attributed to Herodotos a verse from Homer, thus indicating that he was unaware of the metrical character of the phrase!

103. Still surviving today are the 13th-c. *Par. gr. suppl.* 352 (olim *Vat. gr.* 997) and the 14th-c. *cod. Laur.* LX 19; cf. M. Dilts, ed., *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia* (Leipzig, 1974), v-viii.

104. Cf. Talbot, *Correspondence of Athanasius,* xxviii-xxix and 48-51.

pagan manuscripts as well as Christian authors.[105] J. Leroy, however, has warned against exaggerating the tradition of intellectual life at the Stoudios monastery and points out that nowhere in the works of Theodore the Stoudite are there any allusions to pagan authors.[106] Eleopoulos himself admits that all the surviving manuscripts from the Stoudite scriptorium are theological in nature.[107] Theoktistos may also have consulted the library at Chora which was the best in Constantinople at the time.[108]

In both the *Logos* and the *Vita,* however, Theoktistos cites Christian sources in such a way that one suspects he was working directly from manuscripts. He seems to have access to a manuscript of John Klimakos when he refers to the story of the patient obedience of Akakios, "ὁ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ βίβλῳ τῆς Κλίμακος ἐμφερόμενος." [109] He quotes a phrase from the *Opusculum Paraeneticum* of Photios[110] and copies three passages from the orations of Gregory the Theologian. Thus he uses Gregory's account of the death of his father to describe the death of Athanasios in the *Vita* and also cites a section of the *Oratio de seipso* and the *Oratio de Pace.*[111] It seems logical to assume that he was working from a manuscript in the Stoudite library when he quotes from the testament of Saint Theodore ἐπὶ λέξεως![112] He also quotes directly from a collection of canons.[113] Finally, on occasion Theoktistos

105. Nikephoros Eleopoulos, Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν Ἐργαστήριον τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου (Athens, 1967), 16.

106. Julien Leroy, "La Vie quotidienne du moine Studite," *Irenikon,* 27 (1954), 40-43.

107. Eleopoulos, Βιβλιοθήκη, 19. For a Stoudite manuscript of the *Small Catecheses* of Theodore, which was lost and recently rediscovered, see I. Ševčenko, "Kosinitza 27, a Temporarily Lost Studite Manuscript Found Again," *Studia codicologica* (Berlin, 1977), 433-42.

108. Cf. I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami,* IV, ed. P. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 36-37.

109. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 14.

110. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 8.

111. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 22, 45-46, 48.

112. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 46.

113. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 38-39.

cites the works of Athanasios himself which he must have consulted at Xerolophos.[114]

His most noteworthy borrowing from a Christian author is his use of the miracles in the *Vita Lucae Junioris.* Several descriptions of the miraculous posthumous cures of Athanasios are borrowed wholesale from the earlier hagiographical text; entire paragraphs are virtual word-for-word repetition of the tenth-century *Vita.*[115] We can assume then that a manuscript of the *Vita Lucae Junioris* was available in Constantinople in the fourteenth century. Theoktistos did not copy the miracles of Saint Luke blindly, however, but only used passages which were appropriate to the fourteenth-century case. For example, the cure of George Kalokyris, who was blind and deaf (ch. 30), was copied from the cure of an unnamed blind man in the *Vita Lucae* (p. 58). The description of the visit to the relics and prayer for a cure is identical. But for the conclusion of the narrative Theoktistos deviates from the *Vita Lucae* where necessary. Thus George Kalokyris was cured instantly, whereas the healing of his counterpart was delayed until his return home. And since George Kalokyris also had his hearing restored, Theoktistos has added a passage about his delight upon perceiving the sound of the monks' singing at church services.

The case of the priest Theodore, who was cured of a fever (ch. 31), has been copied by Theoktistos from the story of Nikolaos in the *Vita Lucae* (p. 61), but Theoktistos has omitted the boils from which Nikolaos suffered and added the detail that Theodore was afflicted for ten months before visiting the relics of Athanasios. The method of cure was also different since Nikolaos anointed his face with oil from the vigil lamp, while Theodore burned a piece of Athanasios' garment and inhaled the fumes. As a final example of Theoktistos' use of the *Vita Lucae,* let me cite the description of the boy Manuel, who had a cancerous leg sore, which is borrowed from the *Vita Lucae's* account of a woman who had a cancerous

114. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 24-26, 28-30.

115. Denis Sullivan has shown that the 12th-c. *Vita Niconis* is also heavily dependent on the *Vita Lucae* for the transition passage to the account of posthumous miracles, several miracles, and the epilogue, and that the prologue of the 14th-c. *Vita* of Athanasios of Meteora borrows from the prologue of the *Life* of St. Luke; cf. "The Versions of the *Vita Niconis,*" *DOP* 32 (1978), 158-73, esp. 161-70 and fn. 54.

sore on her face (pp. 55-56).

Many of Theoktistos' anecdotes, then, are variations on a theme. If he wants to describe the miraculous healing of a blind person and finds a good description of such a cure in an earlier hagiographical account, he feels free to borrow, but is selective in his choice of material. Where the details of Theoktistos' account deviate from those of the *Vita Lucae*, I think we may be assured of their authenticity. As Egon Wellesz has commented in regard to Byzantine hymnography, such close dependence of one text on another should not be regarded, in modern terms, as plagiarism or a pastiche, but should be compared with icons which represent the same subject with only slight differences in details.[116]

III. Description of the Manuscript[117]

The sole surviving text of the *Logos* of Theoktistos is found in *cod. Const. Chalc. mon.* 64, a manuscript from the monastery of the Holy Trinity (Ἁγίας Τριάδος) on the island of Chalke, now preserved in the Istanbul Patriarchate Library. It is an incomplete paper manuscript in a number of hands of 241 folios (24.5 x 15 cm.) with 22 (fol. 169^{v}, 174^{v}) or 23 lines (171^{v}, 187^{v}) to the page. The manuscript was assigned by Delehaye to the fourteenth century and should probably be placed in the middle of the century, since the *Logos* was written in the 1330s.[118]

116. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1949), 200. After comparing virtually identical *troparia* from hymns by Romanos the Melode and Theodore the Stoudite, Wellesz writes: "The changes of phrase which Theodore introduced into his version are few, but they are sufficiently important to make it a work of his own...these hymns are bound to contain the same similes as their models, just as the icons, representing the saints in whose honour the Kontakia are composed, must all show the same features."

See also the remarks of W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnische und christlichen Altertum* (Munich, 1971).

117. I have not been able to inspect the original manuscript in Istanbul. My description is therefore based on observations made from the microfilm, on the brief remarks of H. Delehaye in his "Catalogus Codicum Hagiographorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Scholae Theologicae in Chalce Insula," *AnalBoll* 44 (1926), 6, and the more detailed but imprecise description of E. Tsakopoulos, Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Β΄. Ἁγ. Τριάδος Χάλκης (Istanbul, 1956), 46-48.

118. Delehaye, *Catalogus*; Tsakopoulos places the manuscript in the 16th c.,

It seems likely that the manuscript originally belonged to the monastery of Athanasios on Xerolophos, the only Constantinopolitan monastery which would need a copy of his *akolouthia,* and was transferred to Chalke in the sixteenth century by Metrophanes, who restored the monastery of the Holy Trinity. He was a great bibliophile who attempted to assemble in one collection all the Byzantine manuscripts which survived the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Metrophanes, like Athanasios, was twice patriarch of Constantinople, from 1565-72 and from 1579-80.[119] A five line poem (in 15-syllable politic verses) in his hand on fol. 37^{v} curses anyone who would dare to steal the manuscript from the monastic library.

Contents of the Manuscript

1^{r}-2^{v}	Missing; they must have contained the first part of Ignatios' *akolouthia* for Athanasios.
3^{r}-37^{r}	*Akolouthia* for Athanasios (attributed to Ignatios in *Iveron* 50, fol. 2^{r}).

perhaps because of the note by Metrophanes. There are two principal hands in the manuscript: **A**, who copied the *akolouthia, Vita* and *Encomium* (fols. 1^{r}-133^{r}); and **B**, who was responsible for the *akolouthia* on the relics and the *Logos* (fols. 134^{r}-199^{r}). **A** is an elegant archaizing hand similar to a number of 13th-14th c. manuscripts, e.g.: *Vat. gr.* 2281, A.D. 1209 (Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani,* Pl. 3); *Cod. Ottobon. gr.* 426, A.D. 1299/1300 (Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani,* Pl. 72); Florence, *Bibl. Laur. ms. Plut.* 11, 1, A.D. 1327 (from Constantinople) (Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts in Italy,* Pl. 136); and Rome, *Bibl. Vallicelliana,* ms. F 17, A.D. 1330 (Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts in Italy,* Pl. 141).

B is a more angular hand which bears some similarity to: *Vat. gr.* 22, A.D. 1342/43 (Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani,* Pl. 118); Venice, *Marc. gr.* 576, A.D. 1374 (Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts in Italy,* Pl. 200); and *Vat. gr.* 786, A.D. 1378/79 (Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani,* Pl. 148). The canons (fols. 199^{rbis}-241^{v}) are in a third hand, **C**, which somewhat resembles **A**.

119. Cf. Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 74-75; G. Schlumberger, *Les Îles des Princes* (Paris, 1925), 125-29; Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, s.v. Μητροφάνης; M. I. Gedeon, Πατριαρχικοὶ πίνακες (Constantinople, 1885-90), 515 ff.; E. Legrand, "Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas," *Recueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l'École des langues orientales vivantes à l'occasion du VIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu à Stockholm en 1899,*

ms. begins in middle of a word, -νεσο πᾶσα ἡ γῆ· σάλον καταπράϋνον θεογεννήτρια, ταραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως ἐπιτιθεμένων·

29ᵛ-32ʳ *Synaxarion:* τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ κδ΄. μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

> Θανών, Ἀθανάσιε φωστὴρ ποιμένων | Παρίστασαι νῦν ἀθανάτῳ ποιμένι. | Εἰκάδι τῇ τετάρτῃ Ἀθανασίου ὅστ' ἐκάλυψαν.

Inc. Οὗτος ἦν ἐξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως τῆς πρώην μὲν Ὀρεστιάδος, ἐξ Ὀρέστου κληθείσης·

Des. πλεῖστα δὲ ἀρετῆς καταλιπὼν ὑπομνήματα· αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαις ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσοι καὶ σώσοι ἡμᾶς.

(ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Theoktisti Vita Ath.*, iv-vi).

37ᵛ Imprecation of Metrophanes: ἡ βίβλος αὕτη πέφυκε τῆς παντουργοῦ Τριάδος, | τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Χάλκῃ τε μονῆς τε τοῦ ἐσόπτρου. | καὶ εἴ τις βουληθῇ ποτὲ ταύτην ἀποστερῆσαι, | κεχωρισμένος ἔσεται Τριάδος τῆς ἁγίας, | ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ γε καὶ τῷ ἐλευσομένῳ. | οἱ πατέρες, μέμνησθε τοῦ Μητροφάνους.

38ʳ-38ᵛ Missing.

39ʳ-106ʳ *Vita* of Athanasios: βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

in margine, Θεοκτίστου τοῦ Στουδίτου.

Inc. Ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν ἐτιμήθησαν...

Des. νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

(ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus from *Iveron* 50 in *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 1-51; abridged version from *Barberini* VI, 22 by H. Delehaye, "La Vie d'Athanase, Patriarche de Constantinople," *Mélanges d'ar-*

II (=Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes. IIIe série—vol. vi) (Paris, 1899), 201 ff. (not accessible to me), cited by Turyn, in *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, 68.

chéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome, 17 (1897), 39-75; reprinted in H. Delehaye, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* [=*Subsidia Hagiographica,* 42] (Brussels, 1966), 125-49.

106^{v} Blank, except for short note: τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι λαμπρυνθὴς τὴν διάνοιαν, τῇ μορφῇ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέλης, ὥφθης στέφανον.

107^{r}-133^{r} *Encomium* of Athanasios: ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν νέον.
in margine, τοῦ Θεοκτίστου.
Inc. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ὁ λόγος ἀποδειλιᾷ πρεπόντως ἐγκωμίοις προσβάλλων Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μάκαρος...
Des. νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

133^{v} Ink sketches of two lions, and two people
,αυθλ΄ μινοὶ Ἰουνοίῳ (1439).

134^{r}-150^{v} *Akolouthia* for Athanasios by Ignatios: πόνημα Ἰγνατίου ἱερομονάχου· μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ κγ΄· ἀκολουθία εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ νέου.
Inc. Νεύσει θεϊκῇ τὸν καλὸν ἡμῶν ποιμένα σήμερον ἡ γῆ σῶον δέδωκε μὴ γνόντα διαφθορὰν ἐν τάφῳ·
Des. αἰτούμενοι διὰ σοῦ σωτηρίαν καὶ μέγα ἔλεος.

146^{v}-147^{v} *Synaxarion:* τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ κγ΄· ἡ ἀνακομιδὴ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ νέου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.
in margine, τὸ συναξάριον.
Inc. Ἄλλη κίβωτος ἥδε καὶ πάλιν νέα φέρουσα νέκυν ἔνδον Ἀθανασίου·
Des. αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαις ὁ Θεὸς ἐλέησον.

151^{r}-155^{5} *Triodion:* Τριῴδιον προσόμοιον τοῖς τῆς μεγάλης ἑβδομάδος ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.
Inc. Τὴν τῶν θλίψεων διαπεράσαι θάλασσαν...
Des. καὶ τοῦτον κατὰ κράτος μάκαρ ἠδάφισας.

155^{v}-156^{r} *Antiphons:* ἀντίφωνα ψαλλόμενα εἰς ἱεράρχας καὶ

	ὁσοίους καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου.
156^{r}	Bottom half torn off.
156^{v}	Pen sketch of cross with monogram IC XC NK
157^{r}-199^{r}	*Logos:* λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. in margine, Θεοκτίστου τοῦ Στουδίτου. Inc. Εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ἔσταλταί μοι ὁ λόγος... Des. καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Ed. *infra,* by Talbot.
199^{v}	Blank.
199bis-241^{v}	Canons by Theoktistos in honor of Athanasios.
241^{v}	Manuscript breaks off in middle of canon.

IV. List of Signs

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

« »	additions made by editor
[ ]	deletions made by editor
———	passages borrowed from *Vita Lucae*

APPARATUS

C	*cod. Const. Chalc. mon.* 64

GREEK TEXT of the *LOGOS* and TRANSLATION

[fol. 157r] ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΚΟΜΙΔΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΙΨΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

εὐλόγησον πάτερ.

1. Εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ἔσταλταί μοι ὁ λόγος τῆς πανηγύρεως ταυτησί, καὶ προσήκων ἐστὶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τῆς νῦν ἀπέσται κοινοτερποῦς χαρμονῆς, οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν ἀξίαν ἐλάττω τούτου γ' ἕνεκα θυραυλήσειε κατεπτηχώς τε καὶ συστελλόμενος, μὴ κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν ἐκεῖνον δυσείμονα ῥιφείη ἑκάς που τοῦ συλλόγου καὶ ποιναῖς ὑπόδικος ἔσεται, ὡς μὴ ἔχων ἔνδυμα γάμου τὸν νυμφῶνα λαθρηδὸν εἰσελήλυθε. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν τεθαρρηκὼς εἰσελεύσεται, εὖ [fol. 157v] εἰδὼς τὸν τῆς παγκοίνου ταύτης αἴτιον πανηγύρεως οὐ τοῖς λαμπροῖς μόνον καὶ γαύροις τῶν λόγων καὶ γοητεύειν δυναμένοις τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐνασμενίζοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἁπλοῖς τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς μᾶλλον συντεθειμένοις. οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἀπ' ἐλπίδος ὁ λόγος μὴ μετασχεῖν ἀγλαΐας ἐξ ἡλιακῶν τοῦ μεγάλου σελαγημάτων, κατὰ τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀναλυόντων καὶ καθ' οἱόντινα κάμπην καὶ ἐπάνοδον προσπιπτόντων αὐτῷ, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν μετὰ σιγῆς ἡδονὴν ἥδεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ μηνύσαι ταύτην τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ὑμῖν, τοῖς τε ὕστερον ἐντευξομένοις.

2. Ὑμεῖς δ' ὅτι τοῖς τελουμένοις ἐφήδεσθε, καὶ τοῖς προσώποις γέμουσιν εὐθυμίας δηλοῦτε· πολὺ δ' ἂν δόξειε κάλλιον εἰ συνεξορμήσετε τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ γένοιτο [fol. 158r] τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐφάμιλλος ἡ τῶν ἀκροωμένων βακχεία. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἕτοιμοι τὴν πανήγυριν ἐξυμνεῖν,

11-12 Cf. Mt 22:12.

1 in margine alia manus scr. Θεοκτίστου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Στουδίτου || 14 in margine, φύλλον μβ' || 25 δόξετε C.

ORATION ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS OF OUR HOLY FATHER ATHANASIOS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Father, give your blessing.

1. Even if the present oration of mine does not appear in a garb worthy of this celebration, and is not suitable for the grandeur of its subject, it does not follow that it will stay away from this joyful occasion that delights all; nor because the oration's worth is less, will it therefore remain outside timidly and cautiously, fearing that, like that ill-clad man of the Gospels, it might be cast far away from the gathering and be punished because it secretly "entered the bridal chamber without a wedding garment." Rather, it will enter confidently, knowing well that the man who is the cause of this general celebration takes pleasure not only in shining and splendid words which can enchant the listener, but also in simple words that are artlessly put together. Nor does the oration despair of sharing in the splendid sunny rays of the great man which, after dispersing in opposite directions, converge upon it by some refraction and retrograde motion, so that we may not only delight in pleasure with silence, but also communicate this «pleasure» in words both to you in the audience and to those who will read it later.

2. And you reveal by your faces filled with good cheer that you take pleasure in the «present» ceremony; but it would seem much better if you were to be enraptured by «my» words, and if the inspiration of the audience were to rival that of the speaker. Indeed many people are ready to celebrate this festive occasion with hymns,

καὶ λόγους καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἥκουσι συντεθεικότες· οἱ δὲ καὶ μένοντες οἶκοι, τοὺς αὐτῶν εὐφραίνουσιν ὁμοίως, ὅ τε μᾶλλον, ὅ τε ἧττον ἐν δυνάμει τοῦ λέγειν· ὃ καὶ θαυμάσοι τις ἄν, ὅτι μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων σιγᾶν ἠνάγκασε τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλὰ πᾶν μέτρον κινεῖται νῦν, καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ ὀκνεῖ. ἔστι δ' ὅ τις ἂν ἠξίωσεν εἶναι τῆς σιωπῆς αἴτιον, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πεῖθον τολμᾶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸς ἀξίαν ἐροῦντες (ὃ συμβαίνειν ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ λίαν ὑπερβαλλόντων πέφυκεν), οἱ συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς ἀσθένειαν κέρδος ἂν ἐποιοῦντο λαθεῖν. ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδενὶ τὴν ἧτταν διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκιμοῦσαν δύναμιν ἐλέγχει τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου ἔργων ἡ φύσις, [fol. 158^{v}] ὅπου δὲ τῶν ἐπαινούντων τὰ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων καλὰ περιγίνεται, δέξαιτ' ἂν ἕκαστος εἰπὼν κοινωνῆσαι τῷ κρείττονι τῆς ἥττης, ἢ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγων μὴ μετὰ τῶν εἰπόντων ἀριθμεῖσθαι.

3. ὅθεν ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἑπόμενος, καὶ χαρὰν τὴν ἧτταν ἡγούμενος ἀσμενέστατα, πρότριτα μὲν μικρά τινα περὶ τοῦ θαυμασίου τοῦ μεγάλου βίου τοῦδε διεξελθών, καὶ τὰς φιλαρέτους ψυχὰς πρὸς ζῆλον καὶ μίμησιν διερεθίσας τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς εἰκός, νῦν περὶ τῆς ἀνακομιδῆς τοῦ πανιέρου τούτου λειψάνου βραχέα βούλεται ἐξειπεῖν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τὰ ἐκ τούτου καθ' ἑκάστην πηγάζοντα θαύματα παραρρυῇ λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενα, καὶ ζημίαν ἐποίσει τοῖς φιλοθέοις οὔ τι μικράν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ἥξει καὶ δοξασθῇ Θεὸς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τούτου καὶ μετὰ θάνατον μέλεσι.

4. [fol. 159^{r}] σήμερον τὸ τοῦ θείου πατρὸς μακάριον καὶ πανίερον σῶμα, οὐκ ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ μονῆς πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ ποίμνιον ἐκκομίζεται. σήμερον ἡ μεγάλη σάλπιγξ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μεσαιτάτης περιωπῆς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς πέρασιν, ἀποστολικῶς εἰπεῖν, καθάπερ ἔμπνους τὸν θεῖον λόγον τρανώτερον διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων αὖθις περιηχεῖ, καὶ προτίθησι τράπεζαν πνευματικῆς

5 Cf. Greg. Cyp. III, 54, 55; Zenobios, V, 62, 63; Diogen. VII, 42 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, I, 372, 145-46, 293); Herodotos, *Hist.*, 5.96.

32-33 Cf. Rom 10:18.

and come with words composed in silence, while others who remain at home give joy to their own «families» in a similar fashion, to a greater or lesser extent in accordance with their rhetorical skill; and this is what makes one marvel, that the magnitude of events has not compelled most people to keep silence, but now "every effort is made" and there is no intimidation at the subject matter. And what someone might deem to be a reason for silence, this same thing persuades one to dare «to speak up». For if there had been people «at hand» able to speak in a manner worthy of the occasion (which happens in less significant matters), those aware of their own weakness would consider it to their advantage to keep quiet. Since, however, no one can escape defeat, but the nature of the deeds of our hero puts to the test even a gifted orator, because the virtues of those who are praised surpass «the abilities of» those who praise, everyone should be willing to speak and to share in the superiority of defeat, rather than to keep silent and not be numbered among the speakers.

3. Therefore, in accordance with what I have just said, and gladly believing this defeat to be a joy, I recently said a few words about the marvelous life of this great man, and urged on virtue-loving souls to zeal and imitation of his good deeds and virtue, as is reasonable. Now I wish to speak briefly (!) about the translation of his holy relics, so that the miracles which spring forth from them daily may not be obscured in the depths of oblivion, and result in a great loss for the lovers of God, but so that they will be made manifest and God will be glorified, as is right, in his limbs even after death.

4. Today the blessed and all-holy body of the divine father is carried out to his flock, not from a far-off place, but from his own monastery. Today the great trumpet of the church, as if from the midmost summit, «that is,» this city, again, as if inspired, sounds the divine word piercingly through his miracles to "all the ends of the earth," in the words of the Apostle, and sets a table of spiritual

ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνης, καὶ συνεστιᾷ τὸ φιλόθεον σύνταγμα. τούτου καὶ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι μόνον θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄφατον ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν, καὶ πρὸς ζῆλον ἀρετῆς μετακινεῖ τὸν βουλόμενον. σήμερον ὁ πνευματικὸς τῷ ὄντι νύμφιος, καθάπερ ἥλιος μέγιστος μετὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον κίνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν γινομένην νυκτώδη κατήφειαν, ἐνταῦθα λαμπρῶς ἀνασχών, τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἅπασαν ταῖς ὑπερφώτοις πυρσεύει μαρμαρυγαῖς, [fol. 159^{v}] ὡς ἀκτῖνας τὰ θαύματα προϊσχόμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν ἀκριβῶς, πᾶσαν ἔννοιαν ἁγνισθῶμεν καὶ καθαρθῶμεν, ὅπως τὸν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας υἱόν, καὶ θέσει Θεὸν καὶ Θεοῦ υἱόν, καὶ Θεοῦ μὲν κληρονόμον, συγκληρονόμον δὲ Χριστοῦ τεθεαμένοι, τῶν ἐκείνου χαρίτων τῆς ἀστραπῆς κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καθάρσεως ἕκαστος ἀπολαύσαιμεν. ἀλλὰ μικρά τινα προλαβόντες τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ οἷον ἀναποδίσαντες, ἵνα καθ' ὁδὸν ὁ λόγος προΐοι, καὶ καθ' εἰρμὸν προβαίνων τῶν συνενεχθέντων πραγμάτων, εὔδρομός τε καὶ λεῖος γίνοιτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν εὐπαρακολούθητος, τοῦ λόγου τῆς εἱρεσίας οὕτως ἁψώμεθα.

5. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει πάντως ἐλεγχθῆναί ποτε καὶ τοῦτον, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐκτετεικότα χρέος λειτουργῆσαι τῇ φύσει, καὶ τῆς διαβάσεως τό τε σαρκικὸν νέφος ἢ καὶ προκάλυμμα διασχεῖν (ὅπερ δῆλος ἦν ἀεὶ δυσχεραίνων μυ[fol. 160^{r}] σαττόμενος ἐκείνου πλέον τοῦ θρυλουμένου Πλωτίνου, ὃν λυπεῖν ἐῴκει τὸ θνητὸν περισκήνιον), καὶ τὴν τριλαμπῆ τῆς μιᾶς ἀκτῖνα θεότητος καθαρώτερον εἰσδέξασθαι καὶ τρανώτερον, ἧς ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐμφάσεις προείληφε, καὶ τῷ ἀκραιφνεστάτῳ φωτὶ κραθῆναι καὶ θεωθῆναι, ὀφθαλμοί τε μύειν ἔμελλον, οἱ τῆς ἔνδον γαλήνης καὶ πραότητος κήρυκες, καὶ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης τῶν ἄνω καὶ θείας ὀπτασίας ἐπάξιοι, μετὰ τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς μακροὺς ἱδρῶτας καὶ τὰς πικρὰς συκοφαντίας καὶ

10-11 Cf. 1 Th 5:5 || 12-13 cf. Rom 8:17 || 22-24 cf. Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua* (*PG* 91: 1124B) || 26-27 cf. Theophylact Simocatta, *Ep.* 25 (Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, 770).

21 ἐκτετικότα C || 25 θρυλλουμένου C.

pleasure before us, and shares a feast with this God-loving assembly. The mere remembrance of this man gives one a certain holy and ineffable pleasure and inspires anyone who so desires toward zeal for virtue. Today the truly spiritual bridegroom, like a great sun after its plunge beneath the earth and the consequent gloom of night, brightly rising here, lights up the whole earth with bright rays, sending forth miracles like sunbeams. By all means, let us cleanse and purify ourselves completely in every perception and thought, so that having beheld "the son of light and day," and by adoption, God and Son of God, and "heir of God, and joint-heir with Christ," each of us may enjoy the brilliance of his favors according to the degree of our purification. But let me now embark upon my oration: before «we turn to» the main subject we shall briefly take up certain matters and move backwards, as it were, so that my speech may progress on its way, and proceed in the sequence of the events which have occurred, and be easily traversed and smooth and easy for us to follow.

5. For since it was necessary for this man to succumb, inasmuch as he was human, and having paid in full the common debt, to serve nature, and to rend "the fleshly cloud or veil of the passage" to God which he always fervently desired (which «flesh» he clearly always loathed and despised even more than did the celebrated Plotinos of old who, it seems, was "grieved by our mortal habitations"), and to receive in a purer and clearer manner the splendor of the single Godhead shining with triple brightness, whose reflections he perceived ahead of time here on earth, and to be mingled with and deified by the purest light; and as he was about to close his eyes, the heralds of his internal calm and gentleness, which were worthy of the most lofty and divine vision of heaven above, after his great labors and long struggles and bitter oppression and

τὸν πολὺν ἐσμὸν ἐκεῖνον τῶν θλίψεων, ἅπερ ἅπαντα τῷ βίῳ τούτου τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἀνάγραπτα κεῖνται, πονήρως μὲν εἶχεν αὐτῷ τὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡ νόσος παρῆν, οὐχὶ βιαίαν ὥσπερ εἴωθε καὶ τυραννικὴν ἐπιδεδειγμένη τὴν ἐπανάστασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠρέμα τούτῳ τὴν ὑγιεινὴν ἕξιν μεταλλοιώσασα, καὶ τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας μικρόν τι παραποδίσασα, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀφορμή τις γενησομένη [fol. 160ᵛ] τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ θείᾳ ὄντως ἐκείνῃ καὶ οὐρανομήκει ψυχῇ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ὑψώσεώς τε καὶ ἀναβάσεως. ἠδεῖτο γὰρ ἄντικρυς κἀκείνη γηραιὰς σάρκας, τοῖς κατὰ Θεόν τε πόνοις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τεταριχευμένας, καὶ ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις αὐταῖς καὶ θείαις δυνάμεσιν αἰδεσίμους.

6. ἐπανηγύριζε δὲ φαιδρὸν οἷον ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν μετάστασιν, καὶ μετέωρος πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐωρᾶτο σκηνάς, καὶ τὴν ἐκδημίαν ὡς εὐεργέτην ἠσπάζετο. ἡ τ ο ι μ ά σ θ η γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς πάλαι κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἐν βασιλεῦσι καὶ προφήταις Δαυῒδ, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ο ὐ κ ἐ τ α ρ ά τ τ ε τ ο. καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δειλὸν πρὸς τοῦτον ὁρᾶν, ἢ πάσχειν ἀγεννὲς καὶ φιλόζωον τ ὸ ν μ ε λ έ τ η ν α ὐ τ ὸ ν τοῦ βίου φ ι λ ο σ ό φ ω ς τεθεικότα παντός, καὶ πολλάκις τῇ ἐπικήρῳ καὶ βραχείᾳ περιαλγοῦντα ταύτῃ ζωῇ, καὶ οἷον πρὸς τὸν τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ζωῆς οἰκονόμον Θεὸν ἐκτραγῳδοῦντα σὺν πάθει τὰ τοῦ Δαυῒδ, ο ἴ μ ο ι ὅ τ ι ἡ π α ρ ο ι κ ί α μ ο υ ἐ μ α κ ρ ύ ν θ η, καὶ δεσμωτήριον τὸ μοχθηρὸν ἢ καὶ φθονερὸν σαρ [fol. 161ᵀ] κίον ὀνομάζοντα καὶ νομίζοντα; τὸν γοῦν οὕτω τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ οὕτω πρὸς ταύτην ἕτοιμον, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σύμπαν ταράττεσθαι, πῶς ἦν ὅλως φιλοψυχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς μετάστασιν ἰλιγγιᾶν καὶ συστέλλεσθαι; ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐνταῦθα τῆς φίλης αὐτῷ καὶ ἡλικιώτιδος εὐτελείας καὶ ταπεινώσεως μεθ᾽ ἧς συνέζησεν ἢ καὶ συναπῆλθεν ἐπιλαθόμενος, ἐνσκήπτει τοῖς φοιτηταῖς, κύκλῳ παρισταμένοις καὶ τὴν ὀρφανίαν ὀδυρομένοις, τάφον αὐτῷ σχεδιάσαι μὴ περιφανῆ καὶ περίοπτον, ἀλλὰ καταλλήλως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς, χοῦν ἐκφορήσαντας καταχῶσαι τοῦτον ταῖς λαγόσι τῆς γῆς, καὶ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς

15-17 Cf. Ps 118 (119):60 || 19-20 cf. Plat., *Phaed.*, 80e-81a || 23-24 Ps 119 (120): 5.

great swarm of sorrows, all of which are recorded for readers of his biography—his body was in grievous condition, and he was afflicted by illness, which did not occur with a violent and overwhelming attack, as is usual, but slowly affected the state of his health, and hampered his natural energies somewhat, and was to be no more than a point of departure for the elevation and ascent of his great and truly divine and heavenly soul to God. For even «the illness» clearly respected the aged flesh which was wasted away, so to speak, by his labors for God, and which was revered even by the very incorporeal and divine powers «i.e., the Angels».

6. And so the man rejoiced gladly, as it were, at his departure «from this life», and he appeared poised for flight toward his heavenly abode, and he embraced death as a benefactor. For to speak with David, who was great among kings and prophets, "he had been prepared" for a long time and "was not distressed" at this prospect. For how was it possible for him to have qualms about death and regard it fearfully, or to suffer in an ignoble and cowardly manner, since he was the same man who had conducted the "study of death in a philosophic fashion" throughout all his life, and often was greatly pained at this mortal and brief existence, and, as it were, declaimed passionately to God, the steward of our common life, the words of David, "Woe is me, that my sojourn was prolonged," calling and believing the wretched or hateful flesh a prison? For a man who thus prayed for his journey to God, and was so well prepared for it that he was not at all distressed, how was it possible for him to cling to life and to become agitated and shrink from departing this earth? But ever mindful of the treasured and constant frugality and humility which were his continual companions here on earth and at his death, he enjoined his disciples, who were standing around in a circle and bewailing their loss, not to make him an impressive and conspicuous grave, but, as they did for the other brethren, to dig in the ground and bury him in the hollows of the earth, and by no means whatsoever to

μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δρᾶσαι τῶν ὅσα εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν πρόσκαιρον καὶ διάκενον ἀφορᾷ. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου μεγαλοπρεπῆ τινὰ πρὸς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἰδιαιτάτην ἑτοιμάσαι σορόν, τῆς δ' Ἀθανασίου ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπαραμίλλου κατὰ γνώμην καὶ θαυμασιωτάτης [fol. 161ᵛ] μετριότητος καὶ λίαν ἀπῳδὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον· ἔμελλε δὲ πάντως καὶ τοῦτο μείζονα τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ δόξαν τῷ μεγάλῳ περιποιεῖν, ὥσπερ δὴ καθ' ὁδὸν προϊὼν ὁ λόγος ἐρεῖ.

7. καὶ οὕτως γάρ, ὡς ἔφημεν, πονήρως ἔχων τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς θάνατον ἀφορῶν, ταῖς ἐσχάταις τούτου κακώσεσι καὶ ταῖς τῶν πόνων ὑπερβολαῖς συντετριμμένος τε καὶ δεδαπανημένος τῷ γήρᾳ, οὐκ ἔληγε τῶν μελισταγῶν ἐκείνων εἰσηγήσεων καὶ σωτηρίων ὑποθημοσυνῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις γυμνασιάρχης ἢ παιδοτρίβης ἤδη καμών, τῶν γυμνασίων αὐτὸς παυσάμενος καὶ τῶν ἁλτήρων καὶ τῆς κονίστρας ὠλιγωρηκώς, παιδοτριβεῖ τοὺς νέους ἀθλητὰς ταῖς πρὸς αἴσθησιν γυμνασίαις, ὑποτιθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ προδεικνὺς τῷ περιόντι τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ὅποι μὲν δεῖ τοὺς ἀντιπαλαίοντας τοῖς σκέλεσι καταδεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἄγχειν ἀπολα-
[fol. 162ʳ] βόντας, ὅποι δὲ διά τινος εὐστροφίας τὰς τούτων λαβὰς ἐκδύνειν, οὕτως ἦν ὁ μέγας οὗτος πατήρ, τοὺς ἄρτι τὴν ἀρετὴν μέλλοντας σταδιοδρομεῖν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν ἄθλων ἐφάπτεσθαι προβιβάζων πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐφυῶς, τὴν ὁδόν τε τούτοις ῥᾷστα διομαλίζων, καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῶν πόνων καταλεαίνων ταῖς διδαχαῖς.

8. τὸν ὅλον γὰρ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνύχων Θεῷ καθιερωμένης ζωῆς καὶ μηδὲν τῶν κάτω συνεπισπασαμένης καὶ περὶ γῆν σχεδόν τι διηνυκὼς δίαυλον, καὶ τὸν Δαβιτικὸν ὅρον ὑπεραναβεβηκώς, καὶ πρὸς ἔσχατον γῆρας ἐληλακώς, οὐ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ πώποτε κηρύγματος κατημέληκεν, οὐ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγώνων κατερραθύμηκεν, οὐκ ἀναγώνιστον ἢ ἄμοχθον ἡμέραν διήνεγκεν· ἀλλ' ἅπας ὁ βίος τούτῳ

do for him anything tending toward human honor and fleeting and vainglory. For another man might have prepared a magnificent and special coffin for his burial, but this was alien to, and not in harmony with, the soul of Athanasios, nor with his incomparable and wondrous moderation in judgment; and, in any case, this «precept of his» was to procure greater glory from God for the great man, as my oration will recount as it proceeds.

7. So thus, as I said, even though his body was ailing and he was facing death, and was exhausted by his death pains and final suffering, and was worn out by old age, he did not cease from those honeyed instructions and precepts with regard to salvation; rather, as a gymnasiarch or physical trainer, who has grown weary and has stopped doing physical exercise himself and no longer practices with jumping weights or in the wrestling arena, instructs the young athletes by means of perceptual training, advising them in speech and demonstrating with his superior previous experience how they should use their legs to bind fast their opponents, or choke them and cut off their breath, or, on the other hand, how to escape their grip by a clever feint, so, also, was this great father, skilfully encouraging those who were about to run the race for virtue and tackle the godly contests, smoothing the way for them and easing their harsh labors with his teachings.

8. When he had thus well nigh finished the entire course of his life, which was dedicated to God from childhood and not at all involved with earthly and terrestial matters, and when he had exceeded the years of David and entered extreme old age, he did not ever disregard the teaching of the Gospel, nor did he relax his struggles in accordance with God's «precepts», nor did he pass a day without contest or toil; but all his existence was filled with

κινδυνώδης καὶ ἐναγώνιος, καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἱδρώτων ὑπερχειλὴς [fol. 162^{v}] καὶ περίπλεως· ο ὐ κ ἄ ξ ι α γὰρ κατὰ Παῦλον τ ο ῦ ν ῦ ν κ α ι ρ ο ῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο τ ὰ π α θ ή μ α τ α πρ ὸ ς τ ὴ ν μ έ λ λ ο υ σ α ν ἀ π ο κ α- λ υ φ θ ῆ ν α ι δ ό ξ α ν αὐτῷ. ἔ κ ε ι τ ο μ ὲ ν οὖν ὁ οὐρανοφοίτης ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, καὶ μὴ γεηρόν τι φρονήσας πώποτε, τ ὰ τ ε λ ε υ τ α ῖ α π ν έ ω ν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄνω συλλειτουργῶν δικαίως ἐπιζητούμενος, ὅς γε καὶ περὶ γῆν στρεφόμενος ἔτι, συλλειτουργῶν ἦν ἐκείνοις τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῇ θείᾳ καὶ ἀνωλέθρῳ φύσει συμπαριστάμενος. ἔκειτο δὲ (πῶς ἂν εἴποι τις πρὸς ἀξίαν;) οὐ τυραννοῦσαν τὴν κατέχουσαν νόσον ἔχων, καθά μοι πρόσθεν δεδήλωται, καὶ βιαίως ἐπείγουσαν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, ἢ πείθων οὕτω νομίζειν τοὺς ἐκεῖσε συνειλεγμένους, ὡς εἶχέ πως ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον ταύτῃ στροβεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ συνήθους μεταβάλλειν σχήματος καὶ φρονήματος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνόσως ἔχειν καὶ ἀπαθῶς ὑπολαμβα [fol. 163^{r}] νόμενος. ὅθεν ἀνάλγητος ὅλος ἐωρᾶτο καὶ τὴν ὥραν φαιδρότατος, ἕως δὴ τὰς ἀεὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ὑψουμένας ὁσίας χεῖρας διάρας πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ οἱονεὶ πρὸς εὐχαριστίαν ταύτας διατυπώσας, ὅσον τε τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίᾳ περιεγεγήθει μηνύσας, καὶ τῷ σχήματι τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις ἥκειν ὥσπερ ἐγκελευσάμενος, εἰς χεῖρας ζῶντος Θεοῦ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ὄντως καὶ γενναίαν χαίρων ψυχὴν παρέθετο, οὗπερ ἐδίψα πάλαι τυχών, καὶ τῆς ἀνωλέθρου καὶ μακαρίας γεγονὼς λήξεως, Θεὸν ἀμέσως ὁρῶν, Θεῷ λειτουργῶν, Θεῷ παριστάμενος, Θεῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ποίμνης ἑκάστοτε πεπαρρησιασμένας προσάγων εὐχάς, αἰδέσιμος ἀληθῶς Θεῷ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ πάσαις ταῖς περὶ Θεὸν χορευούσαις ἁγίαις καὶ μακαρίαις ψυχαῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἄνω διακόσμοις συγχορεύων ἀεὶ καὶ συναγαλλόμενος.

9. τὸ δὲ τούτου καθαρόν τε καὶ πανίερον σῶμα, [fol. 163^{v}] τὸ τῇ οὐρανίᾳ ψυχῇ καὶ θεοειδεῖ συνεργὸν ὀφθὲν πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ δεξιῶς ὑπηρετησάμενον, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνω δρόμον παρεμπόδισαν, ἢ πρός τι τῶν

2-5 Rom 8:18 || 5-7 cf. Greg. Naz., *or.* 43.79 (*PG* 36: 600C).

peril and struggle, and his life was overflowing and full with spiritual labors; for, like Paul, he too believed that "the sufferings of this present time were not worthy to be compared with the glory which should be revealed" to him. Thus this man, who walked in heaven and never gave any thought to anything on earth, lay breathing his last and was justly sought by his fellow celebrants above. For while he still lived on earth, he celebrated together with them in his mind and attended together with them upon the Divine and Indestructible Nature. But he lay (how can one properly describe it?) with an illness that did not violently overwhelm him, as I have previously made clear, and forcibly hasten him toward death, nor was he thus persuading those who were assembled there to believe that, after being tested by this «disease» for a «short» while, he would abandon his customary appearance and spirit; rather, they assumed that he was without disease or suffering. Thus he appeared completely free from pain and with radiant countenance until, raising up to heaven his holy hands which were always lifted up to God and arranging them as if to receive the eucharist, revealing how much he rejoiced at his departure to God, and as if urging the heavenly hosts to come through the attitude of his body, joyfully he committed his truly apostolic and noble soul into the hands of the living God, attaining that which he had long desired, and obtaining an indestructible and blessed portion, beholding God directly, ministering to God, standing beside God, offering God continual and forthright prayers on behalf of his flock, being truly venerable in the eyes of God and the angels and all the holy and blessed souls who dance around God, and always dancing and rejoicing with the heavenly ranks.

9. As for his pure and all-holy body, which had assisted his heavenly and divine soul in striving for the best, and had served it readily, and in no way impeded the soul's journey towards heaven,

κάτω συνεπισπασάμενον καὶ γηΐνων, οἱ φοιτηταὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς καὶ πλέον ἤπερ ἔδει φροντίσαντες, καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀγροικικώτερον περὶ ταύτην διατεθέντες, κληματίσι μὲν ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ καλύπτουσιν· ὑπεράνω δὲ τούτων χοῒ πολλῷ συγκαλύπτουσιν, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τόπῳ καὶ πάντοθεν ὕδασι καταρρύτῳ. εἶπες ἂν ἰδών, οὐχ ὁλόκληρον ἐκεῖσε μῆνα διαμεῖναι τὸν νεκρὸν ἀδιάφθορον, μή τί γε τριετίαν ὅλην μεῖναι ἀδιαλώβητον ἐν ὑγρότητι τοσαύτῃ καὶ ἰλύϊ σχεδὸν καὶ τέλματι. ἐπειδ' οὐχ οὕτω δοκοῦν ἦν τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ π ά ν τ α ν ο ῦ ν ὑ π ε ρ ε χ ο ύ σ ῃ Θεοῦ βουλῇ, τὸ κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἐντρύφημα, τὸν μεγαλοπρεπῆ τόνδε καὶ οὐράνιον θησαυ[fol. 164r]ρόν, τὸ περιμάχητον ὄντως καὶ δεινῶς περιπόθητον πᾶσι τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς αὐγὰς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀτενίσασι χρῆμα, τ ὸ ν π ο λ υ τ ί μ η τ ο ν μ α ρ γ α ρ ί τ η ν ὑπὸ γῆν κεκρύφθαι, ὥρα σκοπεῖν ἐντεῦθεν, τίσι λόγοις καὶ τρόποις χρηστοτάτης οἰκονομίας ὁ κατορωρυγμένος ἀνέθορε θησαυρός. κινεῖ νεύμασιν ἀοράτοις ὁ π ά ν τ α φ έ ρ ω ν τῷ νεύματι τὰς καρδίας τῶν φοιτητῶν, καὶ ἀποκυΐσκουσιν ὃν ἐκ πολλοῦ πόθον ὤδινον ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

10. ἔδοξε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ἀψῖδα περὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεγεῖραί τινα, καὶ ὀρύσσειν ἀρξάμενοι, φθάνουσιν ἵνα καὶ τὸ πανίερον σῶμα τοῖς χώμασι συγκεκάλυπτο. καθαίρουσι τῶν χωμάτων αὐτό, εὑρίσκουσιν ὅλον ἄρτιον, σῷον ὅλον, ὁλόκληρον, διαφωτίζον αὐτοῖς τὰ τοῦ πράγματος τηλαυγέστερον, οἵας ἔτυχε δόξης παρὰ Θεῷ, καὶ μαρτυροῦν τῇ εὐπνοίᾳ, καὶ ποδηγοῦν τούτους πρὸς [fol. 164v] τὸ ζητούμενον, μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Ἡρακλῆν ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν κορυφήν, ἵνα τι καὶ τῶν θύραθεν ὕθλων τῇ ἑορτῇ συνεισάγοιμι. τῆς ἀρρήτου δὲ ταύτης ἁπλήστως ἡδονῆς ἐμπεφορημένοι, καὶ χαρᾶς, οὐχ ὅσην ἂν παραστήσειε λόγος, ἔμπλεω γενόμενοι τὰς ψυχάς, ἐπεὶ τὸ περιμάχητον αὐτοῖς Ἀθανασίου σῶμα ταῖς ἁρμονίαις συνήρτητο, καὶ ὑγιῶς εἶχε πρὸς ἑαυτό, καὶ τοὺς κοινοὺς τῆς φύσεως συν-

10 Cf. Phil 4:7 || 14-15 Mt 13:45 || 18 cf. Heb 1:3 || 28-29 cf. *Od.* XI, 602-27 ? vel ps.-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 44 ?

9 ἰλλύϊ C || 17 ἀνέθορε] ἀνέθ.ρε C.

or dragged it into anything here below on earth, his disciples obeyed his instructions even more than was necessary, and treating it in a rather rustic manner, so to speak, they covered it with vine branches in a very deep trench; and on top of these they piled a lot of earth in a place open to the sky and flooded with water from all directions. If you saw it, you would say that the corpse would not remain there a whole month uncorrupted, much less be preserved unspoiled for three whole years in such dampness and almost in mud and standing water. But since it did not seem good to the great design of God which "surpasses all understanding" to conceal beneath the earth "the pearl of great price," the universal delight of all men, this magnificent and heavenly treasure, a highly prized and exceedingly desirable object for all those who have gazed at the light of truth through him, it is therefore time to consider through what reasons and through which devices of merciful Providence the buried treasure was recovered. "He Who brings all things to pass" with a sign moved the hearts of his disciples with unseen signs, and they brought forth the object of desire for which they had long yearned in their souls.

10. Thus they decided to build a baldachin around his grave; and when they began to dig, they reached the spot where the all-holy body was covered with earth. They cleaned off the dirt and found all of it perfect, completely intact, whole, clearly revealing to them the glory he had received from God, and bearing witness through its fragrance, and guiding them to the object of their desires even more than Hermes «guided» Herakles to the mountainous abode of the gods, if I may interject some nonsense of the pagans into our celebration. And after greedily satiating themselves with this ineffable pleasure, and filling their souls with joy such as words could not describe, since the body of Athanasios which they highly prized was fastened to its human frame, and was in sound condition, and had not rejected its natural bonds,

δέσμους οὐ παρῃτήσατο, ἀκροθιγῶς καὶ πεφυλαγμένως ψυχαῖς τε ποθούσαις καὶ τρεμούσαις χερσὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐξελόμενοι, τῷ κιβωτίῳ κατέθεσαν, δορυφορούσης καὶ αὐτῆς, οἶμαι, τῆς αὔλου καὶ θείας τῶν ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως, καὶ σεβαστικῶς ὡς μάλιστα προπεμπούσης τὸ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος κατοικητήριον «καὶ» καθαρώτατον σκήνωμα, προπομπευούσης τε τοῦτο καὶ προαγούσης, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς οὐρανίους πύλας [fol. 165^{r}] διαιρομένων καὶ κατοπτευόντων τὸ καινὸν ἄνωθεν τοῦ θεάματος, καὶ οἷον ἐκπληττομένων καὶ θαυμαζόντων, εἰ τοσαύτη σαρκὸς ἀσθένεια (ὡς ἐν μικροῖς ὕστερον ὀστέοις καὶ βραχείᾳ θεωρεῖσθαι τῇ κόνει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πρόγονον ἀπορρέειν χοῦν) πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας ἠγωνίσατο· καὶ κρειττων τῶν συγγενῶν παθημάτων ὤφθη, καὶ τὰς ἐμφύτους κῆρας διέδρα, καὶ πρὸς ἀϋλίαν μετεστοιχείωται.

11. οὐκέτι λοιπὸν οἷοί τε ἦσαν οἱ φοιτηταὶ τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου πόρρω στῆναι σοροῦ. ἑάλωσαν ἀφύκτως τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἰσχυρῶς ἐδεδέσμηντο, παρὰ ταύτην θνῄσκειν ἠβούλοντο, "ἀπόλαβέ σου," λέγοντες, "πάτερ, τὸ ποίμνιον. ἆρον κύκλῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου, καὶ ἴδε τὴν τῶν τέκνων σου συναγωγήν, πάντα τὸν ἐσμὸν τοῦτον ὃν ἐν Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγέννησας. παρα[fol. 165^{v}]κάλεσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας. δὸς τούτοις δόξαν ἀντὶ σποδοῦ, ἄλειμμα εὐφροσύνης τοῖς πενθοῦσιν, ὁ μέγας φησὶν Ἡσαΐας, καταστολὴν δόξης ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀκηδίας· καὶ κληθήσονται γενεαὶ δικαιοσύνης, φύτευμα Κυρίου εἰς δόξαν."

12. χάρις τῷ οὕτως ὠκονομηκότι Θεῷ, τῷ ἐκ γῆς ἀνα-

11-12 Cf. "La Translation de S. Théodore Studite et de S. Joseph de Thessalonique," ed. C. van de Vorst, *AnalBoll* 32 (1913), 59, ll. 9-10 || 13-14 Eph 6:12 || 22-23 cf. Is 60:4 || 24-25 cf. 1 Cor 4:15 || 25-31 Is 61:2-3.

6 καὶ addidi || 21 ἀπόλαυέ C || 24 ἐσμὸν coni. ed. ..μὸν C || 30 γενεὰ C.

they gently and carefully removed it from the earth with yearning souls and trembling hands and placed it in the coffin; and, I think, the incorporeal and divine host of angels was in attendance, escorting with the greatest reverence the abode «and» purest dwelling place of the Holy Trinity, going before it in the procession and leading the way, while some of them opened the heavenly gates and looked down from above at the wondrous spectacle and, as it were, marvelled and were astonished that such weakness of flesh (so weak as to be later seen reduced to "a few bones and a handful of dust" and to decay into ancestral dust) struggled "against cosmic powers, against the authorities, against the rulers of the world"; and it was seen to be stronger than natural sufferings, and escaped inborn defects, and was transformed into immateriality.

11. Thus his disciples could no longer tear themselves away from his fragrant coffin. They inevitably succumbed to the pleasure, were bound fast, they wanted to die beside it, saying, "Father, receive your flock. 'Lift up your eyes all around, and behold the gathering of your children,' all of this throng whom 'you have begotten in Christ through the gospel.' 'Comfort all that mourn. Give them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning,' «as» the great Isaiah says, 'the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; and they will be called a generation of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that He might be glorified.' "

12. Praise be to God Who has thus ordained, Who has raised up

γαγόντι τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ. εἴη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. λεγέτω τι καὶ ἕτερον Ἡσαίας τῇ πανηγύρει πρόσφορον καὶ κατάλληλον· εὐφράνθητι, ἔρημος διψῶσα, ἀγαλλιάσθω ἔρημος καὶ ἀνθείτω ὡς κρίνον. ἐξανθήσει καὶ ὑλοχαρήσει καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου, καὶ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ Θεοῦ. ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τυφλῶν ἀνοιχθήσονται, καὶ ὦτα κωφῶν ἀκούσεται. ἁλεῖται χωλὸς ὡς ἔλαφος, καὶ τρανὴ ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιλάλων. ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ ταῦτα νῦν ἐκβεβηκότα πᾶσι θε [fol. 166r] ᾶσθαι πάρεστι; πάντα γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ καλὸς ποιμὴν Ἀθανάσιος τῶν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πρώτου ποιμένος Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων, οὐ μόνον περιὼν ἔτι καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς ταύτης ζωῆς μετέχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐποφθαλμιάσας τῇ ποίμνῃ διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τῆς χρονίας ἀποδημίας ἐπανελθών, ταῦτα γέγονε· τυφλῶν ὀφθαλμός, χωλευόντων πούς, τρανωτὴς μογιλάλων γλώττης, δαιμόνων ἐλατήρ, δραστήριος φύλαξ, ὕδωρ ἁλλόμενον, πηγὴ βρύουσα, ζωτικὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἁπαξαπλῶς δύναμις.

13. τίνα γοῦν ἰσοστάσιον εὐφημίαν ἐπινοήσειέ τις αὐτῷ; ποῖον ἐγκώμιον ἄξιον διαπλέξειε; τίς ἱκανὸς ἔσται πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἐγχείρημα; τίνες λόγων τέχναι καὶ μέθοδοι, τίνες τὴν γλῶτταν εὔθηκτοι ῥήτορες καὶ τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς ῥέοντες ἀνάλογον ἐργάσαιντο τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ τῷδε πατρὶ τὸν ἔπαινον; [fol. 166v] ὑπέρκειται γὰρ ἀληθῶς (καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τῶν τισιν ἐπαινετῶν εἰωθός, ἡνίκα τούτοις μὴ δύναιτο τῶν προκειμένων ἐφικέσθαι πραγμάτων ὁ λόγος, τῆς τέχνης ἀπαγορεύειν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν) πάσης ἐγκωμιαστικῆς μεθόδου, πάσης λόγων ἁπλῶς δυνάμεως. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἀκίβδηλον τὸ θεῖον τῆς ἱερωσύνης διετήρησε χρίσμα; καὶ τίς τούτου μᾶλλον δικαιοσύνην ὡς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ

1-2 Cf. Ps 71 (72):17, 112 (113):2 || 4-11, 17-19 Is 35:1-2, 5-6 || 19-20 cf. Jn 4:14.

11 μογγιλάλων C; γὰρ coni. ed. .ὶρ C || 18 μογγιλάλων C || 26 ἐργάσαιντο] ..ονάσαιντο C.

from earth the shepherd of his sheep. "May his name be blessed for ever more." And, again, let the words of Isaiah be quoted which are suitable and appropriate for the celebration: "Rejoice thirsty desert, let the desert be joyful and blossom like a lily. It shall blossom abundantly" and run riot, and "the people shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of God. For the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap like a deer, and the tongue of the dumb sing." For have not these events now occurred so as to be seen by everyone? For Athanasios was all these things for us, the good shepherd of his own flock and of the flock of Christ, the first shepherd not only while he still survived and shared in this brief life of ours, but also now when he casts longing glances at his flock from afar; and after returning from his lengthy absence, he became these things, "an eye for the blind," a foot for the lame, "a speaker for the tongue of the dumb," one who drives out evil spirits, an effective guardian, "leaping water," a gushing spring, in general, a life-giving force for all mankind.

13. Indeed, what adequate panegyric could one think of for him? What worthy encomium could one devise? Who is capable of such an undertaking? What skills and methods of speech, what keen-tongued orators, whose words flow as if from a spring, could create suitable praises for this great and marvelous father? For in truth (and this is not just the customary excuse of certain «panegyrists», laudable to some who, when their words are unable to describe the matters at hand, give up the attempt at their art) he transcends every encomiastic method, simply every power of words. For who thus maintained inviolate the divine chrism of priesthood? And who more than this man was clothed in righ-

ἐνεδύσατο; τίς οὕτω ταύτην τετίμηκε ταῖς ὑποχωρήσεσι; τίς τὸ ταύτης ὕψος μᾶλλον ᾐδέσθη καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων ἔδοξεν αἰδεσιμώτερός τε καὶ ὑψηλότερος; τίς οὕτω τετήρηκε τὴν ἀκρίβειαν; τίς οὕτως ἀμέμπτως λελειτούργηκε τῷ Θεῷ; τίς τὴν ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν καὶ μυστικήν, τὸ ζῶν σφάγιον ἁγνότερον ἔθυσεν ἢ ἐτέλεσε; λεγέτω καὶ Παῦλος τὰς μηδὲν ἧττον μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀρχιε [fol. 167r] ρέα Χριστὸν ἐπ' Ἀθανασίῳ προηγορευμένας φωνάς· τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἔπρεπεν ἀρχιερεύς, ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος, κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, καὶ ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος, καὶ τἄλλα οἷς ἐκεῖνος τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκοντα Χριστὸν ἀνυμνεῖ, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτιῶν θυσίαν προσφέρειν, ἔπειτα τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ καθημέραν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντα.

14. τίς οὕτω τὸν ἄϋλον ἐν ὑλικῷ καὶ παχεῖ σώματι βίον ἐζήλωσε, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀπαθείας προσωρμίσθη λιμένι; τίς δ' ἂν ἀποχρώντως παραστήσειε λόγος τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου φιλοσοφίαν, τὸ τοῦ νοῦ κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν, τὸ ταύτης κατὰ τοῦ σώματος, τὴν ἐπ' οὐρανὸν φυγὴν καὶ ᾗ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λάμποντα κάλλη, τῶν τῇδε καὶ τῇδε μεταπιπτόντων πραγμάτων πεττῶν παρομοιωμένως κυλίσμασι τὴν [fol. 167v] μεγαλοψυχοτάτην ὀλιγωρίαν, τὸ βραχὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν κατοικεῖν, ὅλον δὲ περιθέειν τὸν οὐρανόν, κἀν τῇ ἑβδοματικῇ ταύτῃ ζωῇ πρὸς τὴν ὀγδόην ἀποβλέπειν διαγωγήν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν πρώτην τε καὶ αἰώνιον; τίς οὕτω τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας ἀστὴρ γέγονε διαυγέστατος; τίς μᾶλλον γυμνῷ τῷ νῷ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθημάτων ἀπεδίδου τῷ κρείττονι τὰς εὐχάς; τίς οὕτω τῆς ὕλης αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολέλυτο καὶ ὄντως θέαμα ξένον ἦν, ἄνθρωπος πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐν γῇ πραγματείαν ἀπολιπών, πάσης δὲ ἀφέμενος σχέσεως, ὑπεριδὼν πατρίδος, γένους, συγγενῶν, παντὸς ἄλλου τιμιωτάτου πράγματος καὶ ὀνόματος, μικροῦ δὲ δεῖν ἐκλα-

8-12 Heb 7:26 || 13-16 Heb 7:27 || 23 cf. *Theoctisti Vita Athanasii*, 25.

4 ἀκρίβεια C || 23-24 παρωμοιωμένως C.

teousness as a priest of God? Who has thus honored it with his retirements? Who more greatly respected its grandeur and for this reason seemed more venerable and exalted than the others? Who has thus maintained scrupulous observances? Who has thus blamelessly ministered to God? Who sacrificed or performed in a purer manner the bloodless and mystical sacrifice, the living sacrificial victim? Let the words of Paul be cited, which were said no less of Athanasios than of Christ, the first high priest: "For such a high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens," and the other words with which he celebrates Christ Who "offered up Himself" on our behalf, and Who "needeth not daily to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's."

14. Who thus strove for the incorporeal life in a corporeal and carnal body and came to anchor in the harbor of freedom from the senses? What words could sufficiently describe the total love of wisdom of this man, the governing authority of his mind over the soul, the soul's «authority» over the body, his flight to heaven, to the place where beauteous things are numerous and brilliant, his magnanimous disregard for matters which shift this way and that like tumbling dice, the fact that he inhabited a small part of the earth, but has the run of the entire heavens, and even in this earthly life looked to the future life (lit. the eighth), or rather the first and eternal «life»? Who was thus a most radiant star of the evangelical way of life? Who with a mind stripped of the passions of the flesh better rendered prayers to the Almighty? Who was thus released from matter itself and from the body and was a truly unusual sight, a man who left behind all earthly business, who gave up all ties, who renounced fatherland, nation, relatives, and every other most precious object and person, all but forgetting

θόμενος ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν; τίς τὸ χεῖρον μᾶλλον ἔθετο τοῦ κρείττονος ὑποχείριον; τίς οὕτω τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς νενέκρωκε μέλη; τίς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον συντεταγμένην τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔδειξε; τίς οὕτως ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ [fol. 168r] καρδίᾳ καθεκάστην τιθέμενος καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπίβασιν τῆς θεωρίας ποιούμενος, πρὸς ταύτην ὅλος διῖπτατο τε καὶ μετεώριστο, καὶ μηδέποτε λήγων τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν φερούσης ὁδοῦ συντονώτερον τοῦ κατόπιν ἐποιεῖτο τὸ ἐφ' ἑξῆς, καὶ τὸν δρόμον μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινεν, εἰδὼς ὡς, ὁπόσον ἂν δράμοι, ὑπεκφεύγει τὸ ἐραστόν, καὶ δεῖ πόνων καὶ συχνῶν ἱδρώτων τοῖς ἐκεῖνο διώκουσι;

15. τὸν μὲν τοῦ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρον λόγος ἀναζωγραφῆσαι τὸν Ἀπελλῆν, καὶ τοσοῦτον εἰς μίμησιν ἀκριβῆ ὅσον καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σωματικὸν ἐλάττωμα, τὸ τοῦ τραχήλου στρεβλόν, εἰς σχῆμα τρέψαι πρᾶξιν φέρον οὐκ ἀγεννῆ. συνήρατο γὰρ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ τῆς εἰκόνος, πρὸς γῆν δακτυλοδεικτοῦσα τῷ δράματι· καὶ λόγος ὡς δῆθεν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου προσδιαγραφόμενος, "γῆν ὑπ' [fol. 168v] ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ· σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε." καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ᾀδόμενον, δυοῖν Ἀλεξάνδροιν, ὁ μὲν Φιλίππου ἀνίκητος, ὁ δ' Ἀπελλοῦ ἀμίμητος. Στασικράτης δὲ καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνον μικραῖς τισιν ὕλαις καὶ εὐχερέσι τὸν μέγαν οὐκ ἐδικαίουν ἀνιστορεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅλος Ἄθως αὐτοῖς συμπαρελαμβάνετο, εἴ πως κἂν οὕτος ἱκανῶς ἀποξεσθείη εἰς εἰκόνα βασιλικήν.

16. ἐγὼ δὲ τίς γένωμαι, καὶ τίνα καὶ ἐκ ποίας ὕλης εἰκόνα σοι στήσω, ὦ κῆπε χαρίτων οὐ κεκλεισμένε, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνοιγόμενε, ὃν οὐδ' ὁ τῆς λήθης πρόξενος τάφος συγκλεῖσαι ἴσχυσεν; ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ λόγος λίαν ἀμυδρὸς καὶ ἡ τέχνη τῇ ὑποθέσει ἀξύμβατος. ἐπεί τοι γε καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου λέγων ὡς ὀφθαλμὸς ἡμέρας, ὡς γίγας ἐκπορευόμενος, ὡς φανεὶς τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχει τὸ βλέπειν ὥσπερ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις τὸ βλέπεσθαι, εἶπε μέντοι τὰ κοινά τε καὶ

2-3 Col 3:5 || 4-5 cf. Ps 83 (84):6 || 5-6 Greg. Naz., *or.* 4.113 (*PG* 35: 649B-652A); cf. Or., *hom. I. in Lc.* (p. 9-10) || 18-19 cf. Plut., *de Alex. fort.*, II, 335B et *Anth. Gr. Pal.*, xvi. 120 || 20-22 Plut., *de Alex. fort.*, II, 335A || 22-25 cf. Plut., *Vita Alex.*, lxxii et *de Alex. fort.*, II, 335C-E || 27 cf. Cant 4:12 || 31-32 locum non inveni || 32 cf. Ps 18 (19): 5-6 || 33-34 cf. Plat., *Rep.* VI, 508a, 509b.

that he was a human being? Who was better at making evil subject to good? Who thus "mortified his members which are upon the earth?" Who displayed the ordained conduct to such a degree? Who thus each day "made spiritual ascents in his heart" and by making "conduct the means of access for contemplation," took flight and rose up toward it with his whole being? Who thus, never abandoning the path which leads to God, travelled the part which lay ahead even more rapidly than that which was behind him and, indeed, sped up his course, knowing that, however long he ran, the object of his desires escapes «him» and that toil and great sweat is necessary for those who pursue it?

15. The story goes that Apelles painted a picture of Alexander, the son of Philip, and it was such an accurate likeness that he even turned his physical defect, the bent poise of his neck, into a form not without nobility. For the hand in the picture was raised, pointing to the earth for dramatic effect. And these words were added, as if «spoken» by Alexander: "I hold in subjection the earth beneath my feet, Zeus; you take Olympus." And it was said with regard to the picture that "of the two Alexanders, the Alexander of Philip was invincible, the Alexander of Apelles inimitable." And Stasikrates and his circle said that it was not right to represent the great man with insignificant and cheap materials, but they would make use of all Athos if somehow it might be suitably sculpted into a royal portrait.

16. But what will become of me, and what portrait shall I make of you, and of what materials, O "garden" of grace which is not "closed," but is open for everyone's enjoyment, «O, Athanasios», whom not even the grave, the producer of oblivion, could confine? For already my oration is quite imperfect, and my «oratorical» skill is not equal to the task. The man who speaks of the sun as the "eye of day," as "a giant coming forth" (and how its appearance makes vision possible for the viewer, just as it gives visibility to that which is visible), described general and more comprehen-

περιεκτικώτερα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ [fol. 169r] μέρος ἡμέρας ἑκάστης πέρι καὶ ὥρας καὶ καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων, καὶ προποδισμῶν καὶ ὑποποδισμῶν, καὶ τροπῶν, καὶ ταπεινώσεων καὶ ὑψώσεων καὶ οἴκων καὶ ὁριζόντων, καὶ ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς δύσεως, καὶ ὡς οὕτω μὲν προσβάλλει τῇ γῇ, οὕτω δὲ τῷ ἀέρι, οὕτω τοῖς χρώμασι καὶ καθ' ὅσους τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ὅπως τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἀφίησι, καὶ ἁπλῶς ὁπόσα δύναται, καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν ἱππεύων καὶ κατὰ γῆς διερχόμενος, τὰ δὴ τοιαῦτα καὶ πλείονα πόσαις ἀρκέσουσι γλώσσαις; πόσας πληρώσουσιν ἀκοάς; ἀλλὰ πειρατέον σοὶ ποιούμενος καὶ ταῦτα τὸν λόγον, τῷ προσιεμένῳ κατὰ μίμημα θεῖον τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν. τίς γὰρ οὕτως καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐτίμησε, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ᾠκονόμησε; τίς, ὅπου μὲν Θεὸς καὶ θεῖον πρᾶγμα, οὕτως ηὐλαβήθη καὶ ἔφριξεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἷς, δεσπότην ἔχων, ταχ' ἂν καὶ τὸν α ν α ί [fol. 169v] τ ι ο ν α ἰ τ ι ώ μ ε ν ο ν, ὅπου δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνθρώπινον, οὕτω διηγέρθη καὶ ᾠκονόμησεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ἄλλου ὄντος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τῆς κηδεμονίας ἐνδείξαιτο; οὕτως ἔχω περὶ τούτων διαγινώσκειν (καὶ ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω λίαν ὀρθῶς), καὶ τοῖς ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσι τὰ ἐκείνου ἢ ὄψει παρειληφόσιν ἢ ἀκοῇ, προσφόρως πάντῃ καὶ ἀληθῶς.

17. ὑπεροχικῶς ὁρίζῃ καὶ σύ, Ἀριστότελες, τὴν ἀρχήν· τ έ χ ν η ν τ ε χ ν ῶ ν καὶ ἐ π ι σ τ ή μ η ν ἐ π ι σ τ η μ ῶ ν τηλαυγῶς αὐτὴν ἀνομολογεῖς. ἄφες μικρὸν τὸν Περίπατον· ἄνες τῶν ζητημάτων τὸν νοῦν. ἐπίστηθι τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ βλέπε τοὺς σοὺς λόγους εἰδοποιηθέντας τοῖς πράγμασι, κἂν ε ἶ δ ο ς ἀνάπαλιν ἔχῃς τ ὸ ν λ ό γ ο ν σύ, καὶ ὕ λ η ν τ ὸ ὑ π ο κ ε ί μ ε ν ο ν. εὑρήσεις γὰρ τὸν μέγαν οὐ τρυφὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν προεδρείαν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλ' ὄντως τ έ χ ν η ν τ ε χ ν ῶ ν καὶ ἐ π ι- [fol. 170r] σ τ ή μ η ν ἐ π ι σ τ η μ ῶ ν καὶ λογιζόμενον καὶ δεικνύοντα. εἰ δὲ ὧν ὁρισμὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ τῇ φύσει ταὐτά, ὥρα σοι βλέπειν καὶ ἀληθινὴν

15-16 Cf. Hom., *Iliad* XI. 654 || 23, 30-31 cf. Ammon., *In Porphyrii Isagogen,* ed. Busse (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca,* IV, 3) p. 6, l. 27 || 27 cf. Arist., *Metaph.* 996b8, 1069b33-34 || 28 cf. Arist., *Metaph.* 983a29-30, 1024b9.

sive things, it is true; but when it comes to the particular details, concerning each day, the hour and seasons and years, and direct and retrograde motion, and solstices, dejections and exaltations, and domiciles and horizons, and rising and setting, how «the sun» thus approaches the earth and thus the air, thus «varies» the colors, and in what ways, and how it sends forth rays, and simply whatever it is capable of, both when it rides over the earth and passes beneath the earth, what tongues are able to relate such things and even more? What ears will they fill? But I must make an attempt at this in my speech for you who accept, in imitation of the divine, what is within one's powers. For who thus honored divine things and provided for human affairs? In the case of God and divine affairs, who was more reverent and awestruck than anyone else, since he had a master who "would blame even one in whom there was no blame," but in the case of our human affairs, he thus roused himself and took charge, as if there were no one else, so that he might show solicitude? Thus I can give judgment about these things (and, as I persuade myself, very accurately indeed), and in a completely fitting and true manner, even for those who know well his «deeds» because they have seen or heard of them.

17. You, too, Aristotle, define preeminently the first principle; you clearly acknowledge it to be the "art of arts" and "science of sciences." Leave for a while your school of philosophy; release your mind from its inquiries. Give your attention to the present events, and look at your formulas taking form from the actions «of Athanasios», although you yourself on the contrary hold that "formula is form" and "substrate is matter." For you will find that the great man did not believe that his patriarchal office was «an excuse for» luxury and glory and wealth, but truly reasoned and demonstrated that «it was» the "art of arts" and "science of sciences." And if the things of which the definition is the same are the same by nature, it is time for you to see that a true patri-

προεδρείαν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταὐτήν, καὶ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τὸν ἀληθινῶς προεδρεύοντα. τί γὰρ δεῖ τεχνῶν εἰς χρῆσιν τῷ βίῳ παρευρημένων τῷ καθολικῶς ἄρχοντι; τί δὲ κοινὸν προεδρείᾳ καὶ μερικῇ φρονήσει τούτοις ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐπιστατούσῃ καὶ ἐπιταττούσῃ τὸ πρόσφορον; κοινὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη, κοινὴ φρόνησις. κοινὸς ἐπιστάτης καὶ ὁ ποιμήν, μόνον εἰ ἀληθεύει τὸν ποιμένα, ὅπως δ' ἀληθεύει τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸ δεικνύει μηδενὸς λέγοντος.

18. ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι, Πλάτων, καὶ σύ, λίπε μὲν τὴν διατριβήν, ἔα δὲ Ἰ λ ι σ σ ό ν, καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἐκείνην ἀ μ φ ι λ α φ ῆ π λ ά τ α ν ο ν· καὶ ὅπερ ἐπῆλθέ σοι περὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰπεῖν, εἰς μέσον παράθου, ἵνα μᾶλλον συγκροτηθείη σοι τὸ ἐνθύμιον. δυοῖν δὲ τοῖν σοῖν λόγοιν [fol. 170^{v}] ὄντοιν, ἐῶ θάτερον, οὐχ ὅτι κἂν τούτῳ ἔλαττόν τι εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν (πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπερτερήσαιμεν εἴπερ ἐλέγομεν, ἢ μᾶλλον καὶ λέγοιμεν ἄν, μεταλαβόντες τὸν λόγον, ὡς μ ε λ έ τ η ν ἐποιήσατο τὸν βίον κ α θ ά ρ σ ε ω ς πάντα ὁ μέγας οὗτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἐν τούτοις ἔξει ὁ τρίβων πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ ἡ Ἀκαδημία καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε σεμνολογούμενα), ἀλλ' ὅτι δῆλον καὶ ὅτι παρακαλεῖ με τὸ ἕτερον, τοῦθ' ὑπερβαίνω διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐπιόντος σεμνότητα. τόδ' ἔστι, καθ' ὃ Θ ε ῷ κ α τ ὰ τ ὸ δ υ ν α τ ὸ ν ὁ μ ο ι ο ῦ σ θ α ι τὸν φιλόσοφον ἰσχυρίζῃ καὶ ἀποφαίνῃ σεμνολογούμενος, δίδως σκοπῆσαι τί ἂν ποιῶν ὁ φιλόσοφος Θεὸν μιμοῖτο κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. οὐχ ὅτι πάντως προτάσεις ἐκλέγεται ἢ καὶ τὰς ἀμέσους καὶ ὧν ἡ γνῶσις ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀπόδειξιν ἐκζητεῖ· οὐδ' ὅτι συλλογισμοὺς συμπεραίνει καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ πᾶν ἐγκόσμιον ἀποδείκνυσι· τούτοις γὰρ οὐκ ἴσμεν τὸν Θεὸν [fol. 171^{r}] χρώμενον. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι τὸ γ ε ν έ σ θ α ι ὅ σ ι ο ν κ α ὶ δ ί κ α ι ο ν μ ε τ ὰ φ ρ ο ν ή σ ε ω ς, καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, καλῶς μὲν τὰ εἰς Θεὸν δηλαδή, καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς ἀνθρώπους διαπραττόμενον καὶ γινώσκοντα.

10-11 Cf. Plat., *Phaedr.*, 229A-230B || 17 cf. Plat., *Phaedo*, 67c-d, 80e-81a || 22-23 cf. Plat., *Theaetetus*, 176b || 30-31 *loc. cit.* || 31-33 cf. David, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XVIII, 2 (1904), 18, ll. 7-8.

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10 Εἰλισσόν C.

archate is identical with philosophy, and the true patriarch is the same as a philosopher. For what need does a universal «spiritual» leader have of the arts invented for use in life? What are the common elements of patriarchal authority and particular wisdom, which is in charge and orders what is suitable for these people and those? Common, in fact, are art and science, common is practical wisdom. The overseer and shepherd have elements in common, only if he fulfils the «name of» shepherd. That our common good «i.e., Athanasios» does fulfil «the name of shepherd», he himself makes clear, even if no one should say so.

18. But you, too, Plato, come to me, abandon your school, leave behind the Ilissos and that celebrated "wide-spreading plane tree"; and explain publicly whatever it has occurred to you to say concerning philosophy, so that your thought may be more applauded. Of your two sayings, I pass over the one «in the *Phaedo*» not because we have less to say, even in the case of this «saying» (for we would surpass it by far if we said, — or rather indeed we should say, adapting your words, that this great man of God made all his life "a practice of purification," and the philosopher's cloak and the Academy and its impressive talk will have no advantage in these things over our position), but because it is clear that the other passage «in the *Theaetetus*» summons me, I will pass over the first one on account of the nobility of the succeeding one. This is «this»: inasmuch as you maintain and declare in solemn language that the philosopher "becomes like God, so far as this is possible," you give us «the opportunity» to consider with what actions the philosopher would imitate God so far as this is possible. Assuredly «he does not imitate God» by choosing premises or seeking out propositions that require no middle term and whose understanding is beyond all demonstration; nor «does he imitate God» by constructing syllogisms and demonstrating that which is in the heavens and everything in the «physical» universe; for we know that God does not make use of these «arguments». But you would say that «to imitate God» is "to become holy and righteous with wisdom" and to have knowledge of these things, accomplishing and knowing well those matters relating, of course, to God and «knowing» well also those relating to men.

19. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν πραγματεύεται μίμησις, καὶ οὕτω Θεὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος, σκοπῶμεν τὸν πατριάρχην ὁποῖος. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὅσιος εἰς Θεόν, ὥστε μηδ' ἀναπνεῖν ἔχειν ἄλλως ἢ ὥστε Θεοῦ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου ἔχεσθαι θεληματῶν, καὶ πᾶσαν κίνησιν ἀπευθύνειν ὡς εἰς κανόνα τὴν θείαν βούλησιν, τοσοῦτον δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσον καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς πιστεύει τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εἶναι κἀκεῖθεν κρίνεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἡ τελεία γνῶσις τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι οὐ τυχαίως, ὡς ἄν τις ἴσως εἴποι, ἢ μὴ δυνάμενος, αἱρεῖται τὰ κάλλιστα· ἀλλὰ δυνατῶς ἔχων τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσθεῖναι, ὅμως τῇ τομῇ τοῦ λόγου διαιρεῖ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπὸ τοῦ [fol. 171^{v}] χείρονος, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐνστερνίζεται, τὸ δ' ἀποπέμπεται ἐν ἴσῳ ζήλῳ ἀμφότερα. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχω διαθεῖναι τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἀριδηλότερον δεῖξαι Θεοῦ μιμητὴν τὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ μηδὲν φαῦλον ἐᾶν κατὰ δύναμιν, ἢ καὶ δρᾶν. ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ οὔτε κτίζει τι φαῦλον, οὔτε μὴν βούλεται.

20. παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κ ι ν ο υ μ έ ν η ν π λ η μ μ ε λ ῶ ς κ α ὶ ἀ τ ά κ τ ω ς, τοὺς ἀπωσαμένους ἀνεκαλέσατο, τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους παρεκάλεσε, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἐκυβέρνησε, τοὺς ἐν θλίψει παρεμυθήσατο, τοὺς ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἐνουθέτησε, τοῖς ἐν πενίᾳ ἐπήρκεσε, τοὺς ἐν πάθεσιν ἐθεράπευσε· τοῖς μὲν ἐγένετο δ ρ ό σ ο ς Ἀ ε ρ μ ω ν ί τ ι ς, τοῖς δὲ φωσφόρος ἑαρινός· τοῖς μὲν π έ λ ε κ υ ς π έ τ ρ α ν κ ό π τ ω ν, ψυχὴν σκληρὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀπότομον, τοῖς δὲ π ῦ ρ ἐ ν ά κ ά ν θ α ι ς, λόγοις ἀτάκτοις καὶ τὸ πλήττειν ἐξ ἀναιδείας ἔχουσι· τοῖς μὲν μάχαιρα τέμνουσα καὶ διαιροῦσα τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος, [fol. 172^{r}] τοῖς δὲ λ ί θ ο ς σ υ ν δ έ τ η ς τ ὰ δ ι ε σ τ ῶ τ α σ υ ν ά π τ ω ν, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁρμονίαν συνάγων τὰ πρώην ἀλλήλοις ἀντιμαχόμενα.

16-18 Cf. Plat., *Timaeus*, 30a || 23-24 cf. Ps 132 (133):3 || 24-26 Jer 23: 29, Ps 117 (118):12; Greg. Naz., *In laudem Basilii Magni, or.* xliii (*PG* 36: 540B) || 29 λίθος συνδέτης: cf. Meth. *fr. 19 in Job* (p. 516.23) || 29-30 τὰ διεστῶτα συνάπτων: cf. Greg. Nyss., *Eun.* 3 (*PG* 45: 597C).

19. If imitation of God is thus pursued, and thus the philosopher is God on earth, let us consider what sort of man the patriarch was. For he was so pious towards God that he could not breathe without being mindful of God and abiding by His wishes and guiding every action as if to the standard of the divine will; and he was so «pious» towards men because he believed that his deeds were under the eyes of God and were judged from above. And this is the perfect knowledge possessed by the pious and just man, that he does not choose the best «course of action» at random, as one might perhaps say, or because he is unable «to do otherwise»; but although it is in his power to take the opposite course, by logical division he nevertheless separates good from evil, and embraces the former, and rejects the latter, both with equal zeal. But I can cast my oration in a different vein and demonstrate even more clearly that the great man was an imitator of God, because he did not permit or do anything bad to the best of his ability. For God neither creates anything evil, nor indeed does He will it.

20. For after he took over control of the Church which was being "attacked outrageously and lawlessly," he gave comfort to the rejected, encouraged those who were faint of heart, guided the weak, comforted those who were in distress, admonished those who were indulging in pleasures, gave succor to the poor, ministered to those who were suffering; to some he was "dew from Mt. Hermon," to others the morning star of spring; «but» to some he was "an axe cutting rock" («by "rock" I mean» a harsh soul, severe toward beauty), to others like "a fire among thorns" («by "thorns" I mean» their undisciplined words that struck one with their shamelessness); for some he was a knife cutting and separating good from evil, for others he was "a stone that binds together," "uniting that which was separated" and bringing together in harmony those elements which were formerly in opposition.

21. ἔστησε πάλαι καὶ Ξέρξην θαυμάζοντα ἡ ἀ μ φ ι λ α-φ ὴ ς ἐκείνη καὶ χ ρ υ σ ῆ π λ ά τ α ν ο ς, καὶ ποταμὸς Μῆδος κυμαίνων τὸν Κῦρον ἔσχεν εἰς ἔκπληξιν· ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς πορείας ὥσπερ ἐπι-
5 λαθόμενον, ὁ αἰθιοπικὸς λίθος ὁ Μέμνων πρὸς τὰς αὐγὰς τῆς ἡμέρας φθεγγόμενος· ἡμᾶς δ' ἐπέσχε τοῦ λέγειν ἡ θεία ὄντως ἀποστολικὴ καὶ μεμεριμνημένη ψυχὴ τ ο ῖ ς π ᾶ σ ι π ά ν τ α γ ε ν ο μ έ ν η, ἵ ν α τοὺς πάντας κ ε ρ-δ ή σ ῃ ἢ μὴν τ ο ὺ ς π λ ε ί ο ν α ς.
10 22. τοιαῦτα [τὰ] τοῦ ἀπαραμίλλου βίου τούτου τὰ ἀποστολικὰ καὶ ποιμαντικὰ κατορθώματα. τίς γὰρ οὕτω τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐπαιδαγώγησε; τίς οὕτω μέτρα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὡρίσατο, καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐρρύθμισε, καὶ τὴν σώφρονα ζωὴν εἵλετο; τίς οὕτω δικαίως τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐδίκα-
15 σε κρίματι, καὶ τήξας [fol. 172ᵛ] ὅσον ἔδει τοῦτο, συνεργῷ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα κατεχρήσατο, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀνέβη διὰ τῶν πράξεων, τοῦ συμφυοῦς βάρους ἀπηλλαγμένος; τίνι μηδὲν οὕτως ἄλλο προσῆν ἢ τὸ σωμάτιον, τὸ ἀναγκαῖον π ε ρ ί β λ η μ α τ ῆ ς ψ υ χ ῆ ς, καὶ βραχύ τι ῥάκος τούτου
20 προκάλυμμα; τίνι τὰ τῆς διαίτης ἐς τοσοῦτον κεκόλαστο, ἐς ὅσον ἀδιάλυτον αὐτῷ τὴν φύσιν τηρεῖσθαι;

23. περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφιλοχρηματίας αἰσχυναίμην ἂν ὅλως διεξιέναι. ὁ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ἀφελὼν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπεράρας τῆς πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητὰ
25 σχέσεως, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπέκεινα τῇ γνώμῃ γεγονὼς καὶ τῷ σώματι, καὶ οἷον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς ἀσκητικῆς προκύπτων περιωπῆς καὶ τὰ τῇδε διαγελῶν πράγματα, πῶς ἂν ἔτι χρήμασιν ἐκεῖνος ἁλίσκοιτο, ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ τῶν ὅσα ῥευστὴν εἴληχε τὴν ὑπόστασιν; οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τὴν αἴσθησιν εἶχε
30 καὶ πᾶν αἰσθητόν, ὡς εἰ μηδέποτε ἐγεγόνεισαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὅσον εἰκὸς ὁ λόγος παραθεωρήσας, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ὑποθέ [fol. 173ʳ] σεως εἰρμὸν ἄνεισι.

1-2 Cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 2.14 (ed. Hercher, 25) || 2-3 cf. Herod., *Hist.*, I, 189 || 3-6 cf. Pausanias, I., xliii.3; Quintus Rufus Curtius, *Historiae Alexandri*, IV , viii; Photios, *Bibliotheca* (ed. Bekker), p. 373 A15 || 7-9 cf. 1 Cor 9:19, 22 || 19 cf. Euseb., *Praepar. Evangel.* 7.10 (*PG* 21: 533D).

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10 τὰ seclusi.

21. Long ago that "wide-spreading" and "golden plane tree" halted Xerxes in amazement, and a seething Persian river held Cyrus in astonishment. The stone colossus of the Ethiopian Memnon, singing aloud at the dawn of day, kept Alexander from continuing his journey, as if he was stricken with forgetfulness; as for me, I am restrained in my speech by his truly divine, apostolic and concerned soul that "was all things to all people" so that "he might gain" all men, or at least "the majority."

22. Such were the apostolic and pastoral accomplishments of the incomparable life of this man. For who thus disciplined his senses? Who thus set limits on his desires, and trained his moral character, and chose the life of moderation? Who thus justly judged with the judgment of his soul and body and, allowing this «body of his» to waste away as much as was necessary, used it as an accomplice «to achieve» the good, and ascended to God through his deeds, relieved of his physical weight? What man thus possessed nothing else besides his body, the indispensable "covering of the soul," and scanty rags to clothe it? What man restricted his diet to the bare necessities to maintain life?

23. I would be embarrassed to describe in full the father's indifference to riches. For since he withdrew from material nature, and rose so far above love for the world of the senses, and was above the earth in mind and body, and, as it were, was looking down from the ascetical vantage point of heaven and mocking the things here on earth, how would that man succumb to «the temptation of» money, or anything else of an ephemeral nature? For his attitude toward the senses and everything sensible was as if they had never existed. But my oration has gone into this as far as is required and now takes up again the thread of the story.

24. τίς οὕτως ὑφ' ἑνὶ πνεύματι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐσταδιοδρόμησε; τίς οὕτω μετ' ἐπιστήμης τῆς φύσεως κατεκράτησε; τίς οὕτως ἢ νοῦν ὕψωσεν, ἢ ψυχὴν ἐπτέρωσε; τίς μᾶλλον οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βίου περιφορᾷ; τίς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον μέρος οὕτω τῷ λογικῷ καθυπέθετο; τίς τὴν ταπεινὴν δυναστείαν καὶ τὴν ψευδομένην εὐημερίαν μᾶλλον διαπτύσας ἐκτεθριάμβευκε; τίς τούτου τὴν γνώμην μετριώτερος ὤπται, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ταπεινότερος; τίς τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν γαληνότερος; τίς ἱλαρώτερος τὴν καρδίαν; τίς τὸν τρόπον χρηστότερος; τίς εὐθύτερος τὴν συνείδησιν; τὸ δ' ὑπεροχικὸν τῆς ἐν τούτοις συγκρίσεως οὐδὲν τούτῳ προστιθέναι δεδέημαι. τοσούτων γάρ, ἵνα τἄλλα παρήσω, τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑψηλότερος ἀποδέδεικται, ὁπόσων καὶ ταπεινότερος· παρ' ὃ γὰρ ὑ ψ η λ ὸ ς ἦν, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ τ α π ε ι [fol. 173ᵛ] ν ό ς, παρ' ὃ δὲ πάλιν ταπεινός, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑψηλός, παρ' ἄμφω δὲ παντὸς ὑψηλότερος.

25. ἀλλὰ τῶν μέν συγκρίσεων ἡμῖν ἅλις· εἰ γάρ τις τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βίον, ὡς μόνου ζωῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ ἀρετῆς νικήσαντος μέτρα, εἰκόνα κατὰ μέρος ἐκ πασῶν συγκειμένην τῶν ἀρετῶν ὀνομάσειεν, ἢ μέγα καὶ θαυμάσιον καὶ οἷον οὐ μιμητὸν τοῖς φιλαρέτοις ἀρχέτυπον, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τοῦ δέοντος. τῷ δ' ὕψει τῆς αὐτοῦ θεωρίας, τίς ἀνθρώπινος καὶ χαμαιπετὴς συνεπαρθήσεται νοῦς; ἢ τίνες ἂν καὶ πόσων λόγων πηγαί, πλουτοῦσαι μὲν τ ὴ ν Ἰ σ ο κ ρ ά τ ο υ ς λ ε ι ό τ η τ α, κ α ὶ τ ὸ ν Δ η μ ο σ θ έ ν ο υ ς ὄ γ κ ο ν, κ α ὶ τ ὴ ν Θ ο υ κ υ δ ί δ ο υ σ ε μ ν ό τ η τ α, κ α ὶ τ ὸ Π λ ά τ ω ν ο ς ὕ ψ ο ς, καὶ τὸν περίεργον πάντων τῶν ἔξωθεν καλλωπισμὸν πρὸς ταύτην παράστασιν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ οἷον ἐμφαντικὴν διαρκέσειαν; ᾧ γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὅλος ἐξαιρεθεὶς καὶ τῶν ἐπαχλυόντων αὐτῷ τῆς σαρκὸς παθη [fol. 174ʳ] μάτων ἐκκαθαρθείς, τῷ φυγεῖν τε πᾶσαν καταστῶσαν βαρύτητα λεπτυνθείς, καὶ τὰς κατεχούσας πέδας ἀποσεισάμενος, ἀνέδραμε πρὸς Θεόν, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφάσεων νεόσμηκτον ἔσοπτρον καὶ θείων ἀπαυγασμάτων δοχεῖον λαμπρότατον ἐχρημά-

14-15 Cf. Jn. Chrys., *In Epist. I ad Cor. Hom. I* (*PG* 61: 15-16); *exp. in Ps. 144.3* (*PG* 55: 466) || 25-28 cf. Jn. Chrys., *De sacerdotio*, iv.6 (*PG* 48: 669).

24. Who so single-mindedly ran the race for virtue? Who thus prevailed over his nature with knowledge? Who thus either elevated his mind, or gave wings to his soul? Who, to a greater extent, avoided anything profane in the course of life? Who thus subjected the irrational part of the soul to the rational one? Who publicly disdained base power and deceitful prosperity more than he? Who has been seen to be more moderate in judgment and humbler in spirit than this man? Who was milder in his reprimands? Who was more forward in conscience? But as for his preeminence in these comparisons, I need add nothing. For, omitting everything else, he has been shown to be both superior in virtue to, and humbler than, all men; for to the same degree that he was lofty in mind, to the same degree he was humble, and again to the same extent that he was humble, to the same degree was he lofty in mind, and in both respects he was superior to everyone.

25. But enough of comparisons. For a person describing the life of this man (who alone exceeded the limits of human life and virtue) would not go wrong «if he described him» as an icon composed part by part of all the virtues, or as a great and marvelous and inimitable archetype for lovers of virtue. What human and earth-clinging mind will be able to soar up with him to the heights of his contemplation? Or what and how many springs of rhetoric, were they flowing abundantly with "the smooth style of Isocrates and the weightiness of Demosthenes, the dignity of Thucydides and the lofty style of Plato," and the elaborate ornament of all the pagan authors, would suffice for the imperfect and, as it were, allusive representation of «Athanasios' contemplation»? For his entire mind, freed of sensual perception and cleansed of the affections of the flesh which obscure it «i.e., the mind», refined by avoiding all weight which drags it down, and having shaken off its confining fetters, ascended to God and became a newly cleaned mirror of reflections from heaven and a shining receptacle of divine radiance;

τισε, κἀντεῦθεν κατ' ἀ π ο ρ ρ ο ὴ ν ἢ μ ε τ ο υ σ ί α ν τ ο ῦ π ρ ώ τ ο υ καὶ ἀΰλου φ ω τ ό ς, φ ῶ ς ἡμῖν καθωράθη δ ε ύ τ ε ρ ο ν, ταῖς ἐξαλλομέναις ἑκάστοτε καταπυρσεῦον μαρμαρυγαῖς. τίς λόγος ἀνάλογον ἐξεύροι τὸν ἔπαινον; ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ νοῦς τεθέωτο τούτῳ, οὕτω τοῖς θείοις ἦν ὕψεσιν ἐμβατεύων, οὕτω μηδὲν ὕλης ἴνδαλμα φέρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἤ τινα τῶν κάτω χαρακτήρων καὶ πλανωμένων ἔμφασιν, οὕτω παντὸς πάθους ἀνῳκισμένος, οὕτω μετέωρος καὶ θειότατος. βαβαὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἀρετῆς! βαβαὶ τῆς ἐν σώματι ῥέοντι κατ' ἄγγελον βιοτῆς! ἡλίκης ἄρα καὶ ὅσης τούτῳ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἦρξαν χάριτος, οἵαν αὐτῷ ῥᾴστην τὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸν τεθείκασιν ἄνοδον, καὶ θαυ [fol. 174^{v}] μασίως τούτῳ συμπτερυξάμεναι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχίφωτον καὶ ζωαρχικὴν τριάδα διεβίβασαν! ἐν σαρκὶ [ἦς] τῶν θείων καὶ ἀψαύστων ὀλίγου καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν ἀδύτων εἴσω προκύψας, καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων τὸ βάθος ἄριστα μυσταγωγηθείς, ὡς ἐξ οὐρανίων ἡμῖν ὑψωμάτων τὰ θαύματα δίκην ἀκτίνων ἀφίησι, πρὸς ἃ τὸν λόγον ἐπιστρεπτέον.

26. καὶ τοῖς ἄγαν ὑψηλοῖς τε καὶ καθαροῖς τὰ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ ταπεινὰ παρενείρωμεν, καὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ μεγάλου θαυμάτων μνήμην ποιησώμεθα, οὐ πάντων ἀκριβῶς, οὐδὲ καθ' ἑξῆς· πῶς γὰρ τῶν τοσούτων καὶ ἃ νάμασι ποταμίοις ἐπίσης ῥέουσι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι μηδὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνα τῆς ῥοῆς ἔστησαν; ὀλίγα δὲ τούτων ἀπολαβόντες εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἡμῶν τῶν εἰς τοῦτο συνειλεγμένων διηγησώμεθα. [fol. 175^{r}] ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ περὶ τῶν ἔτι ζώντος γεγενημένων διαλαβόντες, τέλεον περὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἀποσιωπήσαιμεν, ὥσπερ τῷ νόμῳ τῶν τεθνεώτων λήθην αὐτοῦ καταψηφισάμενοι, καίτοι γε φανερῶς ἐκείνου ζῆν ἐν Θεῷ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἡμῖν ἐπιδεικνυμένου, ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ πολλῷ τῶν μετὰ τέλος θαυμασιωτέρων ὄντων καὶ πιστοτέρων, ἅτε δὴ καὶ ὑπονοίας ἁπάσης καθαρευόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον ἡμῶν τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλτρον οὑτωσὶ μαρ-

1-3 Greg. Naz., *or.* 40.5 (*PG* 36: 364B) || 27-28 cf. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 20-21, 41-44.

11 ἡλίκης C || 15 ἧς seclusi.

and then by means of "emanation or participation in the first" and unsubstantial "light," he appeared to us as "a second light" that on each occasion set us on fire with leaping sparks. What oration could find suitable praise? To such a great extent had his mind been deified; thus it frequented the divine heights, thus it bore no material form in itself or any reflection of the figures who wander below, thus it was removed from all suffering, thus it was raised up on high and was most divine. O, what super-human virtue the man possessed! O, what an angelic life in an ephemeral body! What a great grace of the spirit they showed in him, just as they have prepared for him an easy ascent to heaven; and after flying with him in a wondrous fashion, they led him to the very Trinity, source of light and giver of life! When he was in the flesh, he had an inkling of the holy precincts which can hardly be approached even by the heavenly hosts, and he became perfectly initiated into the depths of the ineffable mysteries; «now», as if from the heavenly heights, he sends forth his miracles to us like rays. To them I shall now address myself.

26. Allow me to introduce sordid and humble matters among the lofty and pure, and let me commemorate the posthumous miracles of the great man, not all of them in detail, nor in order. For how «is this possible» with so many «miracles» which flow like rushing streams, especially since until now they have not ceased flowing? Let me select a few of them and describe them for the glory of God and for the benefit of those of us who have assembled for this purpose. For it would be strange for me to discuss those which occurred while he was still alive, but to keep complete silence about the posthumous ones, as if condemning him to oblivion, as is customary with those who have died; although he clearly shows us through his deeds that he is living in God, especially since the posthumous «miracles» are much more marvelous and credible inasmuch as they are free from all suspicion, but also testify to our

τυρούντων.

27. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοῦ Μελετίου θαῦμα διηγητέον, ᾧ Ποτηρᾶς τὸ ἐπώνυμον, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τοῦ πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑπομονῆς ὑπόδειγμα φέρει κάλλιστον, καὶ διδάσκει μὴ δεῖν ἀπαγορεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς λυπηροῖς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χρηστότητος δεομένους, ὅταν βραδύνων αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν [fol. 175ᵛ] ἔλεον, τὴν τοῦ λυποῦντος ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀναβάλληται λόγοις βαθυτέρας οἰκονομίας. ὁ τοίνυν Ποτηρᾶς οὗτος πατρίδα μὲν ἔσχε Μήδειαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ διάγων δαίμονι χαλεπῷ περιπίπτει, οὐ συναρπάζοντι μόνον ἁπλῶς ἐπὶ χρόνοις ἤδη συχνοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειμάτων οἵων καὶ σκότους τὴν ἐκείνου πληροῦντι ψυχὴν καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐπηρεάζοντι. ἐρρήσσετο γοῦν αὐτὸς πυκνότερον καὶ κατέπιπτε, καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονώντων ἅπαντα, στρεβλώσεις, σπαραγμούς, σκοτοδινίας, τἄλλα ὅσα πάσχειν ἐστὶ τοὺς κακῷ τοιούτῳ πεπεδημένους ἔπασχε. τί οὖν ὁ Μελέτιος δρᾷ; παριδὼν ἅπασαν τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουρίαν, ἐπὶ Θεὸν καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα καταφεύγει, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἵνα ἡ πολύπλουτος σορὸς Ἀθανασίου κατάκειται καταλαβών, προσπίπτει ταύτῃ, καὶ θερμοῖς αὐτὴν λούει δάκρυσιν. εἶτα τῷ καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ παντὸς πάθους ἀλεξι [fol. 176ʳ] κάκῳ χρῆται φαρμακῷ, τῷ τοῦ ἐλέους ὄντως ἐλαίῳ, εὐχαῖς τοῦτο κεράσας καὶ δάκρυσι, καὶ τῆς δαιμονικῆς τυραννίδος αὐτίκα λύεται.

28. καὶ ἄλλος δέ τις ἐκ Γαλαταρίων ὁρμώμενος, ἀμπελουργὸς μὲν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, τὴν δὲ κλῆσιν Βατάτζης, ὁμοίῳ περιπίπτει κακῷ, δαίμονι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλοὺς πικροτάτῳ, ὁμοίοις τε πάθεσι καὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ χρῆται καταφυγῇ, τῇ τοῦ θείου, φημί, καὶ οὗτος Ἀθανασίου λάρνακι, καὶ τῆς ἴσης ἀπολαύει θεραπείας καὶ χάριτος, τῆς ἀμίσθου ἐπικουρίας, τῆς μὴ κενουμένης χρηστότητος, τῆς ἀδαπανήτου τοῦ ἐλέους καὶ πολυχεύμονος κρήνης.

29. καὶ ὁ Βλαγγηνὸς Ἰωάννης δαιμονῶν ἦν, καὶ πολλοῖς τοῖς χρόνοις καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τυραννούμενος· ἴσων τοίνυν καὶ οὗτος βοηθημάτων, ἴσης τυγχάνει ἐπικουρίας. κειμένῳ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πανιέρου σοροῦ, ἐπιφανεὶς αὐτῷ

love for him.

27. First I should relate the miracle of Meletios, Poteras by surname, because in addition to glorifying God, it is an excellent example of fortitude and teaches us that in difficult times we should not give up begging for the kindness of God, whenever He is slow to grant His mercy and is delaying the relief of the sufferer for reasons of more profound dispensation. So this Poteras had his home in Medeia; and while he was living there, he fell victim to a terrible evil spirit, which did not simply possess him for several years, but filled his soul with terror and darkness and treated him despitefully in every way. He used to collapse frequently and fall down and suffered all «the ills» of men possessed by spirits: spasms, convulsions, attacks of dizziness, everything else which afflicts those who are shackled by this wretched fate. So what did Meletios do? Disregarding all human succour, he sought refuge in God and His servant and came to the sanctuary where the precious coffin of Athanasios lies; he fell before it in supplication and bathed it in warm tears. Then he made use of the drug which wards off evil spirits and all suffering, being truly the oil of mercy; he blended it with prayers and tears and straightway was freed from his demonic possession.

28. And another man, who came from Galataria, a vine-dresser by trade whose name was Batatzes, fell victim to a similar affliction, as he, too, was possessed by a terrible evil spirit; and for a similar misfortune he had recourse to a similar refuge, I am referring to the sarcophagus of the holy Athanasios, and he enjoyed the same healing and grace, the freely given succour, the ever bountiful goodness, the inexhaustible and abundantly flowing fountain of mercy.

29. John Blangenos was also possessed by a devil and had been tyrannized for many years in a similar fashion; and he received the same assistance, the same succour. For as he was lying down in front of the all-holy coffin, the great man appeared to him in his

[fol. 176v] καθεύδοντι ὁ μέγας ἐν σχήματι τῷ οἰκείῳ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κατασχὼν ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα διακελεύεται. εἶτα τῇ δεξιᾷ σφραγίσας αὐτόν, "ἰδού", φησίν, "ἠλευθέρωσαι τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως εὑρηκώς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ πορεύου." οὕτως εἶπε, καὶ ὁ λόγος εἰς ἔργον ἐξέβη. καὶ ἅμα τε τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος λύεται, καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους φωνὰς ἀποδούς, τῷ αὐτοῦ οἴκῳ εὐθυμῶν ἀποδίδοται.

30. ἐν τοῖς ἀναπλεομένοις τοῦ Πόντου ἐστὶ πόλισμά τι καλούμενον Ἱερόν. ἐκ τούτου Γεώργιος ὁ Καλοκύρις ὥρμηται, ὃς τὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων εἶχε βολὰς ἀμαυράς, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ σώματος ἀμφοτέρους ἀπέσβεστο λύχνους, τοῦ γλυκυτάτου πᾶσιν ἐ [fol. 177r] στερημένος φωτός, σὺν τοῖσδε καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς βεβυσμένος. οὗτος τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάσης ἀπογνοὺς βοηθείας, ὡς κρεῖττον ὂν τὸ πάθος ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην «τέχνην» καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ χειρὸς ἀνώτερον πάσης ἰατρικῆς, ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον καταφεύγει, καὶ τὸν ναὸν εἰσελθών, χεῖρας τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ τῆς διανοίας ὑψώσας ὄμματα (τὰ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἐπεπήρωτο), "λύσον μου τὸ σκότος ὁ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός", ἔλεγε, "παραστάτης καὶ κληρονόμος. ἀπάλλαξόν με τῆς κατεχούσης νυκτός. ἴδω σου τὴν εἰκόνα, προσβλέψω τὴν θήκην, τὸ σεμνεῖον θεάσωμαι. τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργάτας προσκυνήσω περιχαρῶς, τοῦ τεμένους κατατρυφήσω, κηρύξω πᾶσι καὶ διηγήσωμαι τὰ θαυμάσιά σου, πλησθέντος μοι χαρᾶς τοῦ στόματος, καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἀγαλλιάσεως." οὕτως ἐκεῖνος δεό [fol. 177v] μενος, παραχρῆμα (ἀλλὰ μὴ παραδράμοι τὸ θαῦμα τὰς ἀκοάς!) διάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὁρᾷ μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν τέμενος, ὁρᾷ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου θήκην τε καὶ εἰκόνα, ἀκούει δὲ καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν ᾀδόντων συνήθως τὰς εἰωθυίας ᾠδάς. ἀμέλει καὶ διαπιστεῖν εἶχε τὸ πρῶτον τῇ τοῦ

78, 36-80, 8 *Vita Lucae*, 57 || 11-28 *Vita Lucae*, 58 || 25 cf. Ps 9:2, 74 (75):3 || 25-28 cf. Ps 125 (126):2.

16 τέχνην addidi; cf. *Vita Lucae*, 58.

sleep in his own image, took hold of his head, and bade him open his mouth. Then, making the sign of the cross with his right hand, he said, "Behold, you have been freed from the evil spirit; now that you have found salvation through your faith, depart in peace." Thus he spoke, and his word became deed. As soon as he awoke, he was liberated from the evil spirit; and after uttering words of thanksgiving, he returned joyfully to his own home.

30. As you sail north towards the Pontos, there is a town called Hieron. From this place hailed George Kalokyris, whose vision was dimmed and who was deprived of the light which is most precious to all men, since his body's two lamps «i.e., his eyes» had gone out, and he was also deaf. Since he despaired of all human assistance, because his affliction was greater than any human skill and remedy and beyond any healing hand of a physician, he had recourse to the holy man. After he arrived at the church, he simultaneously raised up his hands and the eyes of his mind (for, as I have said, his corporeal eyes were afflicted) and said, "O servant and heir of the true light, free me from this darkness. Deliver me from the night which possesses me. Let me see your image, let me gaze upon your coffin, let me behold your monastery. Let me joyfully venerate its workers of virtue, let me delight in the sacred precincts, let me proclaim and 'show forth' to everyone 'thy marvelous works,' 'my mouth filled with joy and my tongue with rejoicing.' " This was his supplication, and suddenly (but let not the miracle pass lightly over your ears!) he raised his eyes, he saw the holy precinct, he saw the coffin and the image of the saint, and he heard the customary chants of the monks singing in their usual manner. Of course,

θαύματος ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σαφεῖς ἐδέχετο τὰς ἀντιλήψεις, καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἑώρα τοῖς καλῶς βλέπουσι καὶ ἀκούουσι, χαρᾶς πλησθεὶς ἀπορρήτου, προσπλέκεται τῇ σορῷ, κατασπάζεται, λούει τοῖς δάκρυσιν, εὐχαριστεῖ κατὰ δύναμιν (κατ' ἀξίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἱκανός), ἄπεισι διαπρύσιος κήρυξ τοῦ θαύματος χαίρων οἴκαδε.

31. τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν ἱερέα Θεόδωρον γεγονὸς οὐδὲν ἧττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, γραφῆς τε καὶ ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, ὅσῳ καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχει θαύματος. τοῦτον ἤνεγκε [fol. 178r] κώμη τις περὶ τὴν Βιθυνίαν διακειμένη ἀγροικικῶς οὕτω πως καλουμένη Καρταλιμή. οὗτος οὖν, εἴτε τινος χολέρας ἀναζεσάσης, εἴτε καὶ κατ' ἄλλην σώματος κακοήθειαν, ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα διακαεῖ πυρετῷ καὶ συνεχεῖ ἐπὶ δέκατον μῆνα τρυχόμενος ἦν· καὶ ἴσα πυρὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἐφλέγετο. ἰατροῖς οὖν καὶ οὗτος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας, καὶ χρυσίον πολὺ τὸ μὲν διδούς, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος εἰ τοῦ χαλεποῦ τούτου νοσήματος ἀνεθῇ, ἔγνω κάκιστα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ διανοηθείς. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ ἔρρει καὶ τὸ βαλάντιον οὕπω διάκενον ἦν, ἤκουε παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἡδέα ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πληροῦντα, τούτοις δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου χεῖρα προθυμότερον διανοίγοντα· "οὐδέν σοι τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔσται· ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ἐκποδὼν ἡ νόσος, καὶ ἀκριβοῦς ἀπολαύσεις τῆς [fol. 178v] ὑγιείας." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαν σχεδὸν αὐτοῦ κατεδηδόκασι τὸ χρυσίον, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐπαύσατο εἰς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, φιλαλήθεις ἦσαν οἱ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ποριμοῦ πρόφασιν τὸ ψεῦδος ἔχοντες, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ἁπάντων ἐλεγχόμενοι, "ἡ νόσος οὐδαμῶς ἰάσιμος, κρεῖττον ἀνθρωπίνης τέχνης τὸ πάθος", λέγοντες· "Θεοῦ δεῖται μόνου, ᾧ τ ὰ ἀ δ ύ ν α τ α παρὰ πᾶσι δ υ ν α τ ὰ καὶ ῥᾴδια διανύειν." τούτων ἐκεῖνος ἀκούσας, ἄνοιάν τε ἑαυτοῦ κατεγίνωσκε, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχε μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθυμῶν ἦν, ἀνθ' ὧν μετὰ τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ ἃς εἶχε τῆς ὑγιείας ἐλπίδας ἀπώλεσεν.

32. οὕτως οὖν ἀλύοντι καὶ ἀπορουμένῳ ἐντυχών τις τῶν συνήθων, τὰ περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦδε διασαφεῖ,

2-4 *Vita Lucae*, 58 || 8-36 *Vita Lucae*, 61 || 30 cf. Mt 19:26.

at first he was unable to believe the extraordinary miracle, and did not think it really happened. But when he received clear perceptions and his vision was as good as that of all people who see and hear well, he was filled with ineffable joy, clung to the coffin, embraced it, bathed it with tears, gave thanks to the best of his ability (for he could not give him his due), and returned home rejoicing, proclaiming the miracle loudly.

31. The case of the priest Theodore is no less worthy of recording and hearing, perhaps even more so inasmuch as no miracle can surpass it. This man came from a village in Bithynia which is called, in the rustic idiom, Kartalimen. And either from some raging cholera or from some other disease of the body, his whole body burned with fever; and he had been consumed by it continually for ten months; and his face burned like fire. But after he entrusted himself to doctors, and gave them a lot of money, and promised more if he was relieved of this terrible disease, he realized that he had thought out the most harmful course possible for himself. For as long as his hand kept pouring out «money» and his purse was not yet empty, he heard from them these sweet words, which filled him with good hopes and made him open his hand to them more readily: "Nothing serious will happen to you; in a little while the disease will go away, and you will enjoy perfect health." But when they had devoured almost all his gold and his hand ceased «to produce» any benefit, those men who shortly before had lied for the purpose of gain and were not exposed by anyone, now turned lovers of the truth, saying: "Your disease is in no way curable, your affliction is greater than human skill. It can be helped only by God, for Whom 'the impossible is possible' and easy to accomplish in all affairs." When he heard these men, he despised his own foolishness and greatly repented what had happened, but he was also despondent because together with his gold he had lost even what hopes of a cure he had held.

32. As he was thus distraught and perplexed, he met a friend of his who told him about this great man, how he easily drove away

ὡς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν παθῶν τε καὶ [fol. 179r] δαιμόνων εὐπετῶς ἄγαν ἀπελαύνει, ὡς σκότος ἥλιος καὶ δρόσον ἐωθινήν, καὶ διαλύει πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὡς εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγεγόνεισαν. εἶτα καὶ τμῆμα ῥάκους βραχύτατον εἰσηγεῖται τοῦ μεγάλου ἐπ' ἀνθράκων θεῖναι, καὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφορηθῆναι καπνοῦ, ἐπιφωνουμένου τῇ θυμιάσει καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου, οἷά τινος σωτηρίου ἐπάσματος. οὕτω δράσας ὁ ἱερεύς (ὢ ταχείας ἐπισκοπῆς, ὢ θερμῆς ἀντιλήψεως!), ἡ καυσώδης ἐκείνη κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ χρόνιος κάκωσις ἀφανὴς γίνεται καθαρῶς οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲ ἴχνος ὑπολειφθῆναι.

33. μετὰ ἱερέα καὶ ἕτερος ἱερεὺς εἰσαγέσθω, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκούτζη Μιχαήλ. ἔπασχε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος χαλεπῶς τὰ ἔνδον, καὶ τὸ τῆς θείας φάναι Γραφῆς, ὡ δ ῖ ν ε ς ᾅ δ ο υ π ε ρ ι ε κ ύ κ λ ο υ ν αὐτόν. [fol. 179v] τοῦτον οὕτω πονήρως ἔχοντα, ὑγιᾶ δείκνυσιν ὕδωρ ποθέν, πρότερον ἐπαφῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λειψάνου ἁγιασθέν.

34. οὐδὲ Μανουὴλ τὸν τοῦ 'Ραδαρίτου παῖδα περιΐδεῖν ἄξιον. χαλεπῇ γὰρ οὗτος καὶ δυσιάτῳ κατείχετο νόσῳ, καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ ταύτης πεπέδητο ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ ζωῆς ἐλπίδα μηδόλως ὑπολελεῖφθαι. κατατέτρητο γὰρ τὸ σκέλος ἅμα σὺν τῷ μηρῷ μάλα δεινῶς (φαγέδαιναν τοῦτο ἰατρῶν παῖδες οἴδασιν ὀνομάζειν), ὃ πρὸς τῇ ἐκ φύσεως ἀγριότητι ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧπερ ἦν ἐλεεινὴν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐποίει τῷ πάσχοντι. οὗτος μυρίων ἰατρικῶν ἀνασχόμενος βοηθημάτων, μετὰ τοῦ μηδόλως τυχεῖν ὠφελείας καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀπώλεσε. τοῦτον οἱ γονεῖς λαβόντες ὀψέ ποτε παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν θήκην ἄγουσι, καὶ (ὢ χάριτος ἀπόρρητα δυναμένης!) [fol. 180r] πρὸς γὰρ τοσοῦτον κακὸν καὶ ὅλως ἄμαχον οὐδὲν ἤρκεσεν ἄλλο ἢ ἔλαιον ληφθὲν τῆς φωταγωγοῦ, καὶ θερμῇ τῇ πίστει συγκερασθέν, καὶ χρισθὲν τοῖς τραύμασιν. οὔκουν οὐδὲ διήμαρτον οἱ γονεῖς τῆς οἰκείας κρίσεως, καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐλπίδων, ἀλλ' ὑγιᾶ λαβόντες τὸν παῖδα χαίροντα, χαίροντες ἀπῄεσαν οἴκαδε.

35. τὸ δὲ γεγονὸς εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κοσμιδίου παῖδα θαῦ-

6-11 *Vita Lucae*, 61 || 14-15 Ps 17 (18):6 || 22-31 *Vita Lucae*, 55-56.

every disease and sickness caused by illness or evil spirits, as the sun «disperses» the darkness and morning dew and dissolves them into nothingness, as if they had never existed at all. Then he advised him to place upon coals a tiny piece of the great man's garment and to inhale deeply the fumes therefrom and, together with the fumigation, to proclaim the name of the holy man like a charm of salvation. When the priest did this (O what swift and providential care, what ardent succour!), that lengthy and feverish affliction of his body disappeared completely so as to leave no trace.

33. After one priest, let another one be introduced, Michael from Chalkoutzi. For he had terrible abdominal problems, and in the words of Holy Scripture, "the pains of Hell compassed him about." This man who was suffering so was healed by drinking water which had first been blessed by contact with the holy relics.

34. Nor should I overlook Manuel, the son of Rhadarites. For he was afflicted by a severe and intractable disease and was so firmly in its grip that absolutely no hope at all remained for his life. For his leg and his thigh were terribly riddled with what doctors call cancerous sores, which, in addition to the pain due to their nature, also caused pitiable suffering for the patient because of their location. After enduring countless medical remedies, he not only received no benefit at all, but wasted his time. So at last his parents brought him to the holy coffin, and (O grace which is capable of the ineffable!) for the relief of such a completely incurable affliction nothing more was needed than oil taken from the lamp, mingled with fervent faith, and anointed on his sores. Thus his parents did not fail in their own judgment and their good hopes because of their faith, but took the boy, rejoicing in health, and joyfully returned home.

35. I think it would be better to pass over in silence the miracle

μα σιγᾶν οἶμαι καλῶς ἔχειν, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξιέναι τῷ λόγῳ μὴ δυναμένῳ κατ' ἀξίαν συνεπαρθῆναι τῷ θαύματι (τί γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγράπτοις θαύμασι μεμαθήκαμεν, ὡς δύνασθαι εἰς ἴσον ἐλθεῖν τούτῳ διὰ συγκρίσεως, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις τυφλὸν παραθέσθαι βουληθείη τις κατάλληλον εὑρόντα τὴν ἴασιν; πεπήρωτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ εἰρημένος οὑτοσὶ παῖς χαλεπῶς ἄγαν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς), ὡς μὴ ἀπι-[fol. 180^{v}] στηθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ θαῦμα παρὰ τῶν γινωσκόντων εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς μαρτυρούμενον. ἐλαίῳ τοιγαροῦν καὶ οὗτος τῆς θρυαλλίδος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀλειψάμενος, οὐ Σ ι λ ω ὰ μ ἐδεήθη ν ί ψ α σ θ α ι πρὸς τὸ καθαρῶς βλέψαι. (ἀλλὰ μή τις ἀπιστίας λογισμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις ὑποδράμῃ τὰς ἀστηρίκτους ψυχάς, μεμνημένας τοῦ εἰρηκότος "καὶ μ ε ί ζ ο ν α τ ο ύ τ ω ν ποιήσετε".) ἡνίκα γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου χρίσις παρὰ τοὺς ὤπας, τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὸ γλυκύτατον φῶς τούτοις εἵπετο, ἐν ἀκαρεί, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, λάμψαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ χαρᾶς ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ παῖς, καὶ ῥήματα εὐφροσύνης καὶ δοξολογίας ἀνέπεμπε, καὶ διαπρύσιον ἐκεκράγει, ἵνα μὴ λέγω στεντόρειον, καὶ ἐκθειάζων οἵκαδε σκιρτῶν ἐπορεύετο.

36. σιγάτω πρὸς ταῦτα πᾶσα τεχνικὴ τῶν λογογράφων περίνοια [fol. 181^{r}] τὰς ἐπαυξήσεις τῶν πραγμάτων διά τινος ῥητορείας ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐξαίρουσα. οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸ θαῦμα, ὡς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ λέγοντος ἔλαττον ἂν ἢ μεῖζον ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι. τί γάρ τις εἰπὼν πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα προσθήκην δώσει τῷ θαύματι; πῶς δ' ἄν τις ἐλαττώσειε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι τὴν ἔκπληξιν, διὰ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δούλου γεγενημένων τὸ ἄφραστον τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου δυνάμεως λογισάμενος; εἰ γὰρ τοσαύτη τοῦ δούλου ἡ δύναμις, πόσην εἰκός ἐστι περιουσίαν δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ παντὸς κατανοῆσαι; οὗ τῷ θελήματι, εἰ δὲ βούλει, τῷ νεύματι, ὕλη καὶ κατασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ὄντων ἐγένετο.

37. γυνή τις ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Κρούλλης, ὄνομα μὲν

4-5, 11 Cf. Jn 9:1-12 || 12-13 cf. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 20 || 14 Jn 14:12.

16 εἵπετο C.

which occurred to the boy from the Kosmidion monastery, rather than to describe it in an oration which cannot worthily rise to the same level as the miracle, so that the miracle will not be disbelieved in the future by people who hear about it as it is continually recounted (for what have we learned about in recorded miracles which could compare to this one, unless one wished to bring up the blind man of the Gospels who found a comparable cure? For the above-mentioned boy also had severe problems with his eyes.) For he, too, anointed his eyes with oil from the lamp, but did not need "to wash in Siloam" in order to see clearly. (Hesitant souls should not be sceptical about what I shall say, but should remember the one who said, "you shall do greater works than these.") For as soon as the oil anointed his eyes, immediately sweet light entered them, instantly, as the saying goes, shining into them; and the boy uttered cries of joy, and spoke words of gladness and thanksgiving, and shouted out loud, indeed, in a stentorian fashion and, worshipping God, went home leaping with joy.

36. Here is no place for the skill and subtlety of professional speech-writers exaggerating their material by means of rhetoric; for the miracle in the above passage is not such as to become lesser or greater than itself through the skill of the speaker. For what could one add to this account that would further enhance the miracle? And how would one lessen the astonishment of the listeners at the event when he calculates, from the miracles wrought by His servant, the ineffable power of the Lord? For if the power of the servant is so great, how great an abundance of power is it reasonable to assume is in the Lord of all? By Whose will, by Whose nod, if you will, matter and creation and power of this world and all things in it and that which exists above it came to be.

37. A woman from Kroulla in Bithynia, Eugenia by name, who

Εὐγενία, τὸ σχῆμα δὲ μοναχή, νόσῳ περιπεπτώκει τοιαύτῃ, πυρέττειν [fol. 181v] ἀρξαμένη, πονήρως εἶχε τῆς κεφαλῆς. καὶ τὸ πάθος ῥεῦμα μὲν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ὀνομάζεται. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ λίαν δεινόν τε καὶ περιώδυνον, εἴ που μέρει τινὶ ἐπισκήψει, μηδεμίαν ἔχοντι τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐπαθεῖ τὸ ὅλον καὶ ταῖς ἐπιρροαῖς τοῦ κακοῦ καθάπερ ῥεύματος εἴκοντι. τί δὲ ἄλλο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εὐπαθέστερον, οὓς πολλάκις καὶ θρὶξ εἰσπεσοῦσα, καὶ χοῦς γῆς ἐκριπτόμενος τὸ ὀπτικὸν κατεθόλωσε; τούτῳ καὶ αὕτη τῷ πάθει σφοδρῶς ἐπιέζετο, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἀπολεγομένη ἐκ τῶν συνεχῶν καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλων κακώσεων. συνέχον γὰρ τὸ πάθος, πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναμοχλεῦον ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἀναταρασσόμενον, καὶ ῥῆξιν οἷον ἐπαπειλοῦν συχνὰς ἐποίει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας καὶ τοὺς παλμοὺς συνεχεῖς, ὅσα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν μαλθακῷ ἀγγείῳ κινούμενον. ἔπειτα ὥσπερ [fol. 182r] ὁρμῆσαν καὶ διέξοδον ἐφευρόν, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀθρόον ἐμπίπτει, καὶ τὸ δεινὸν σφοδρότερον ἀπεργάζεται. παλμὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ παλμῷ, καὶ κίνησις συνεχὴς καὶ καταδρομὴ τοῦ δριμέος διηνεκὴς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἠχρείουν, καὶ ἠπείλουν τούτοις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν ἐκκοπὴν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον.

38. ἠρευνῶντο τοίνυν ἐπὶ τούτοις τεχνίται, προσεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἰατροί. αἱ δαπάναι συνεχεῖς, οἱ μισθοὶ ἐντελεῖς, αἱ ὑποσχέσεις μάλα πολλαὶ ἐφίσταντο, τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐποίουν, τὰ τῆς πείρας προσέφερον, τὰ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐδοκίμαζον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνέλειπον πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἀντικαθιστάμενοι. τὸ δὲ δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἧττον δεινὸν ἦν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἠγρίαινέ τε καὶ ἐταράσσετο, καὶ πάσας ἐπέφερεν ἀλγηδόνας. τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; στερεῖται τοῦ γλυκυτάτου φωτὸς ἡ ἄνθρωπος, ἀμφοτέρων σβε [fol. 182v] σθέντων αὐτῇ τῶν λύχνων τοῦ σώματος. ἐξαετίαν ὅλην ἐν σκότει κάθεται, τοῖς προσήκουσι χρωμένη χειραγωγοῖς. μανθάνει τὰ περὶ τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου θήκῃ καὶ τῷ λειψάνῳ τελούμενα θαύματα, προστρέχει τούτοις, καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κιβωτίου λυχνίας τοὺς λύχνους χρίει τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. καὶ (ὢ ταχείας ἐπισκοπῆς, ὢ θερμῆς ἀντιλήψεως!) βλέπει τη-

36 Cf. *Logos*, p. 84, ll. 8-9.

311-32 κάθηται C.

wore a nun's habit, was afflicted by such an illness; she began to run a fever, and her head ached; the disease is called 'flux' by doctors. And it is very serious and painful if it attacks a part that has no resistance whatever, but is completely susceptible and succumbs to the influx of the evil 'stream,' so to speak. And what is more susceptible than the eyes, whose vision is often disturbed by a hair getting into them or by dust tossed up from the ground? So the woman was grievously afflicted by this disease and daily despaired of her life because of the constant and successive sufferings. For the disease was oppressive, as if levers were forcing open and hammering her whole head from within and almost threatening to burst it; and « the illness» caused constant pain and throbbing, like water boiling in a kitchen pot. Then as if it rushed out and found a passageway, it suddenly attacked her eyes and intensified her affliction. For throbbing followed upon throbbing, and constant agitation and continual assault of the fierce «affliction» rendered both eyes useless and threatened them with imminent surgical removal and mortal danger.

38. Therefore, specialists were sought out, and doctors were summoned. The expense was continuous, the fees were paid in full, the promises were numerous; «the physicians» used their skills, they made use of their experience, they attempted everything in their means and left no stone unturned in their battle against the disease. But the affliction was no less severe; indeed, it got worse and caused disorders and brought on every sort of pain. What happened then? The woman was deprived of the sweetest light, since both the lamps of her body were extinguished. She sat in darkness for six whole years and relied on her relatives to lead her by the hand. She learned about the miracles which took place at the sarcophagus and relics of the great man, she ran there and anointed the lamps of her eyes with the oil from the lamp above the coffin. And (O what swift and providential care, what ardent succour!) she immediately saw clearly, magnifying and prais-

λαυγῶς αὐτίκα, μεγαλύνουσα καὶ δοξάζουσα τὸν φωτοδότην Θεόν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα Ἀθανάσιον.

39. μετὰ γυναῖκα καὶ ἄλλη τις εἰσαγέσθω γυνή, τὰ μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ διακειμένη, ὅσα γε εἰς πηρώσεις ἐστὶν ὀφθαλμῶν, μοναχὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν ἀναβολήν, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐργάτις κομιδῇ θερμοτάτη. ταύτῃ Μαγδαληνὴ μὲν ὄνομα, θυγάτηρ δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπογραμματέων τινος [fol. 183r] (Θεόδωρον ἴσασι πάντες τὸν Γαβαλᾶν). αὕτη διπλῆν ὑπέμενε τοῦ πάθους τὴν συμφοράν· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ νόσῳ καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἔφερε, μὴ δυναμένη κενοῦν φυσικῶς τὰ οὖρα, καθὼς οἱ πάντες, ἀλλ' ἀβουλήτως ἐξήρχοντο νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ ἦν ἀφόρητον τὸ δεινόν. οὕτως ὀδυνηρῶς ἐχούσῃ τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου τις εἰσηγεῖται τάφον καταλαβεῖν, τὴν ἄψευστον ἐλπίδα, τὸ ἄμισθον ἰατρεῖον, τὴν ἀπόνως πᾶσι πηγαζομένην ὠφέλειαν. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλει, ἀλλὰ προσδραμοῦσα ζεούσῃ πίστει μάλα θερμῶς ἠξίου τὸν ἕτοιμον εἰς εὐεργεσίαν, ἠντιβόλει ῥανίδος μιᾶς ἐλέους πολλὰ δάκρυα καταβάλλουσα. ὁ δὲ ταχὺς εἰς ἀντίληψιν ὀρέγει ταύτῃ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἴασιν, ὕδατι μόνῳ τῇ ἐπαφῇ τοῦ πανιέρου τούτου λειψάνου ἁγιασθέντι τε καὶ ποθέντι.

40. τρίτη πάλιν ἐπ' αὐταῖς [fol. 183v] προσίτω γυνή, ἡ τοῦ Δοκειανοῦ θυγάτηρ Εἰρήνη, ἣν πάθος εἶχε χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσίατον, ἢ τάχα καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατον, ὃ πρὸς τῇ ἐκ φύσεως ἀγριότητι, ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧπερ ἦν ἐλεεινὴν ἐποίει τῇ πασχούσῃ τὴν συμφοράν. ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ γὰρ αὐτῇ (ὑστέραν Ἀσκληπιάδαι καλεῖν εἰώθασιν) ἔκειτο, πολλῶν μὲν ὀδυνῶν αὐτῇ, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνης τελοῦν πρόξενον. αὕτη μυρίων ἀνασχομένη βοηθημάτων, ἃ χεῖρες ἀκεστόρων κιρνῶσι, τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀπώνατο. παρὰ δὲ τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἁγίου φοιτήσασα, ἐλαίου χρίσει τὸν ἔλεον λαβοῦσα, τοῦ πάθους ἀτεχνῶς ἀπηλλάγη.

41. μὴ κάμωμεν καὶ ἔτι γυναικῶν ἀκούοντες θεραπείας, αἰδεσθέντες εἰ μή τι ἄλλο τοῦ θεραπεύοντος τὸ φιλάνθρωπον· δι' ὃ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις καὶ ἡ τῆς Στουδιανῆς θυγάτηρ παρίτω, ὁμοίως μὲν πιεζομένη, [fol. 184r] καὶ πάθους

3-5, 13-19 *Vita Lucae*, 55 || 22-26, 28-29 *Vita Lucae* 56 || 33-36 *Vita Lucae* 56.

ing God, the giver of light, and his servant Athanasios.

39. After one woman, let another woman be introduced, who did not have the same affliction as Eugenia, that is, blindness, but wore the same habit, that of a nun, and was a very ardent worker of virtue. Her name was Magdalene, and she was the daughter of an imperial secretary (Theodore Gabalas, whom everyone knows). She suffered a double affliction, for in addition to the disease, she could not endure the shame since she was not able to pass water naturally, as everyone does, but was incontinent night and day alike; and the affliction was unbearable. While she was thus suffering, someone advised her to go to the tomb of the great man, the hope that does not deceive, the «place of» free healing, the succour which gushes forth abundantly for all men. And she did not disregard the advice, but ran there with ardent faith and fervently supplicated the one who is ready to confer benefits; and shedding many tears, she begged for one drop of mercy. And he who was swift to succour granted her a swift cure «which she obtained» merely by drinking water sanctified by contact with his all-holy relics.

40. Let a third woman follow after these, Irene, the daughter of Dokeianos, who was afflicted by a terrible disease, difficult to cure, or rather completely incurable, which in addition to its natural vehemence, also caused pitiable suffering for the afflicted woman because of its location. For it was in her womb (physicians usually call it 'uterus') and caused her much pain and much shame. She patiently endured countless remedies, which were concocted by the hands of healers, but received no benefit from them. But when she went to the tomb of the holy man, she received mercy through anointing herself with oil and was completely relieved of her affliction.

41. Let us not yet grow weary of listening to cures of women, but venerate, if nothing else, the healer's love for humankind; wherefore in addition to the other women, let the daughter of Stoudiane come forward, who was similarly afflicted, and with a

χαλεπωτάτου (ὑδεριῶσα γὰρ ἦν), ὁμοίας δὲ τυχοῦσα καὶ ταχείας τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως, ἐφ' ὁμοίοις πάντως τοῖς βοηθήμασι. σὺν αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ ἡ Φακεωλοῦ Ἄννα, ὁμοίαν τὴν τῆς κεκρατημένης χειρὸς αὐτῆς ἐφεῦρε τὴν ἴασιν.

42. οὕτω πᾶσι κοινὴ πρόφασις εὐφροσύνης ὁ μέγας πρόκειται, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλά εἰσι τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον τοὺς ἀρρώστους φοιτᾶν ἐφελκόμενα, καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων τὸ τάχος τῆς θεραπείας, τὸ ἄμισθόν τε σαφῶς καὶ τὸ εὔελπι. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔχω πῶς διευθετήσω τὸν λόγον, πέλαγος ὁρῶν θαυμάτων ὑπανοιγόμενον, ἢ πῶς μὴ μειώσω ταῦτα τῷ ἀδρανεῖ τοῦ λόγου στενοχωρούμενος. Ὅμηρος μὲν γάρ, εἰ παρῆν, πλέον ἐπὶ τούτοις τ ὰ ς Μ ο ύ σ α ς ἐκάλει πάσας, ἢ ἐφ' οἷς πολλάκις ἐκάλεσεν· ἐγὼ δὲ μέσως χωρήσας, τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προδιαστέλλομαι, φύσιν πραγ[fol. 184v] μάτων εἰδέναι καὶ φύσιν λόγων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ῥᾳδίως τελοῦνται τὰ θαύματα, οὕτω καὶ λεχθῆναι ῥᾳδίως ταῦτα δοκεῖν. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ὁ λόγος γραφική τις τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκείνη διὰ τοῦ σκαρίφου ἔστιν οὗ καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ ζωγραφεῖ, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἂν τὴν θέαν ἠνέγκαμεν πώποτε· ὅμως τὴν ἱστορίαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς προσιέμεθα. οὕτω καὶ λόγου διηγουμένου, ἐπεὶ τὰ φοβερὰ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ πάρεισι, χρεία πάντως τῷ ἐπαΐοντι νήψεως, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνῳ τῷ γράμματι ἐπικάθηται, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖσε διαβιβάζῃ τὸν νοῦν· οὕτω γὰρ μόλις τις ἔχει καλῶς ἐπιθειάσαι τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ τὸν ἐργάτην ἀξίως μεγαλύναι τῆς πράξεως. ὅρα μοι τοίνυν πολλῶν δαίμοσι μαχομένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπίτομον ἰατρείαν, ἣν ὁ λόγος οὐ χωρὶς ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ διαλαβεῖν [fol. 185r] βούλεται, τὸ μῆκος ἐκκλίνων.

43. γυνή τις ὄνομα Ξανθή, Ζωμᾶ δὲ αὕτη θυγάτηρ, Θεοδώρα τε ἄλλη, Ἀπλημελὲ καὶ αὕτη θυγάτηρ, ἑτέρα τε γυνὴ ὀνόματι Μαρία ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου ὁρμωμένη, ἐπὶ ταύταις Εὐφροσύνη παρθένος ἡ τοῦ Κατζαροῦ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ

12-14 Cf. Hom., *Iliad*, 1:1, 2:484, 491; *Od.* 1:1.

20 σκαρύφου C.

most dreadful disease (for she suffered from dropsy), and received a similar swift succour and cure with similar remedies. Along with her the daughter of Phakeolos, Anna, was similarly cured of her paralyzed hand.

42. Thus the great man is a common cause of joy for everyone, since there are many attractions which lead sick people to come to him, especially the swiftness of his healing art, and obviously the lack of expense and the strong hopes «he affords». But now I do not know how to set the course of my oration, since I see an ocean of miracles opening up, or how I can avoid belittling them, limited as I am by the oration's inadequacy. For Homer, if he were present, would invoke all the Muses more for this than on the numerous occasions when he frequently summoned them. But I have plunged into the middle and give this explanation, first of all, that the audience knows the nature of events and the nature of words and that miracles cannot be described as easily as they are accomplished. For the oration is a sketch of the events in question, and, like the sketch, it portrays through an outline sometimes even fearful things and things whose sight we could never bear; nonetheless, we approach the picture with pleasure. Similarly, in a narrative, since fearful events «themselves» are not present, it is necessary for the listener to show sobriety so that he does not cling to the words alone, but also transports his mind to the deeds. For only thus can one properly admire the deed and worthily magnify its doer. Do me, therefore, the pleasure of beholding the swift cure of many men and women who were strugglng with evil spirits; my oration will treat them not separately, but as a group, thus shunning long developments.

43. A woman by the name of Xanthe, the daughter of Zomas; another woman, Theodora, the daughter of Haplemele; another woman, Maria by name, who came from Rhegion; in addition, Euphrosyne, the daughter of Katzaros; and also the daughter of

Κυπαρισσιώτου—προστίθεμεν ταύταις καὶ Καλλιόπην τὴν γηραιάν τε καὶ πενιχράν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Ξηρολόφου Μαντρομηνὸν Γεώργιον—ταύταις πάσαις σὺν τούτῳ δαίμοσι κακουμέναις ἥκιστα φορητοῖς, εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν ἥρκεσε ταῖς μὲν ἐπαφὴ μόνη τῆς πολυπλούτου σοροῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ λειψάνου προσκύνησις, ταῖς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς θρυαλλίδος χρίσις ἐλαίου. εἶεν.

44. ἀλλὰ λεκτέον ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν δυσουρίας ἀπαλλαγέντων, καὶ τούτων οὐ κατὰ μέρος (ἐκκλίνει γὰρ ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀμετρίαν), ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ τούτων μνημονευτέον. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσαγέσθω τῇ μνήμῃ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ καθηγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ μεγαλο [fol. 185^{v}] μάρτυρος καὶ μυροβλύτου Δημητρίου, καὶ σὺν τούτῳ ὁ Σγουρόπουλος Ἰάκωβος, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Καρταλιμῆς παῖς τοῦ Βόθρου, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος παῖς τοῦ Φλαμούλη, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς γυνή τις Εἰρήνη, Συναδηνὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. οὗτοι πάντες χαλεπαῖς περιωδυνίαις τῆς δυσουρίας δεινῶς συνεχόμενοι, ἓν ἀκεσώδυνον φάρμακον εὕραντο, τὸ πολλάκις ῥηθὲν τῆς φωταγωγοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἔλαιον, εἰς ἔλεον ἀτεχνῶς μεταποιούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαίου παραδόξως ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῖς κεχρημένοις καὶ μετὰ πίστεως χριομένοις.

45. ἀξιούσθωσαν μνήμης καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Βιζύης μοναχὸς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Συνηγόρου Ἰωάννης, σὺν τούτοις καὶ ὁ τοῦ πριμμικηρίου τῶν Βαράγγων παῖς. τούτων ὁ μὲν Θεοδόσιος κωφὸς ἦν, ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Ἰωάννης τυφλὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ κωφός, ὁ δ' αὖ γε τρίτος τυφλός, ὁ τοῦ πριμμικηρίου δηλαδὴ παῖς. ἥρκεσε κἀπὶ τούτοις τὰ προρρηθέντα τοῖς πρόσθεν ποικίλαις [fol. 186^{r}] νόσοις συνεχομένοις καὶ δαιμονῶσι, καὶ δρεψαμένοις τὴν ἴασιν.

46. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πᾶσιν ἐφ' ἑξῆς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου θαύμασιν ἐπεξιέναι μακρᾶς ἂν εἴη συγγραφῆς, καὶ λόγου τὴν παροῦσαν σχολὴν ὑπερβαίνοντος. πῶς γὰρ τῶν τοσούτων, καὶ ἃ νάμασι ποταμίοις ἐπίσης ῥέουσι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι μηδὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνα τῆς ῥοῆς ἔστησαν; ὀλίγων δὲ τινῶν μνημονεύσας ἐπιεικῶς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν-

32-34 Cf. *Logos*, p. 76, 11.23-25; *Vita Lucae*, 54.

12-13 μυροβλήτου C || 31 μακρ.. C.

Kyparissiotes—let us add to them Kalliope, the poor elderly woman, and George Mantromenos from Xerolophos—for all of these women and the one man who were tormented by unbearable evil spirits, sufficient remedy for some was mere contact with the precious sarcophagus and veneration of the relics, for others anointing with the holy oil from the lamp. So be it.

44. But I should also speak about those who were cured of urinary difficulties, but not in particular of these either (for in my oration I shun excessive length); but I must mention them all together. First, let me call to memory the nephew of the abbot of the monastery of the great martyr Demetrios whose relics give forth perfume, and with him Jacob Sgouropoulos, and the son of Bothros from Kartalimen, and the son of Phlamoules from «the monastery of» the Savior, and with them a woman named Irene Synadene. All of these, who were terribly afflicted with the severe pain of urinary problems, found one remedy to allay their suffering—the oil, which has been frequently mentioned, from the lamp of the great man; this oil was simply transformed into mercy instantly and unbelievably by those who used it and anointed themselves with it in faith.

45. Worthy of mention also are the monk Theodosios from Bizye, and John from Synegoros, and with them the son of the *primmikerios* of the Varangians. Of these, Theodosios was mute; John was blind and mute as well; and the third, that is, the son of the *primmikerios*, was blind. And for these men, too, the aforementioned remedies sufficed which «had worked for» those who had been previously afflicted by various diseases, and possessed by demons, and were cured.

46. But to go into detail over all the miracles of that man would require a lengthy narrative and an oration exceeding the time available. For how «could I relate» so many, which flow like rushing streams, especially since even now they have not ceased to flow? But after recalling, in a modest fashion, a few of his deeds,

των, ἐν τούτοις περιγράψω τὸν λόγον, ἀφεὶς ὑπόθεσιν τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις γεραίρειν τὸν μέγαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε καὶ φιλοτίμως κεκαλλιεπημένοις συγγράμμασι, καὶ τῷ περιόντι τῆς σφῶν ἰσχύος κοσμεῖν καὶ σεμνύνειν ἐκεῖνα, τοῖς παρεμπίπτουσιν ὕλῃ χρωμένοις, ὡς ὁ τ ε χ ν ί τ η ς λ ό γ ο ς, αὔξων ἢ μειῶν, ἀναχωνεύων καὶ ἀναπλάττων, εὖ δὲ συντάττων καὶ ἀποξέων, καὶ προσ-
[fol. 186^{v}] τιθεὶς καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος, σχηματίσειε τὸ ἀμόρφωτον, καί, ᾗ φησιν ὁ Σταγειρίτης, ῥ υ θ μ ί σ ε ι ε τ ὸ ἀ ρ ρ ύ θ μ ι σ τ ο ν, τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ὕλην εἰδοποιῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐντελὲς διδοὺς ταῖς ὑποθέσεσιν ἄριστα. εἰ καὶ μὴ λόγον ὕλης ἔχει τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου, χρηζούσης τεχνικῆς τῶν λόγων εἰδοποιήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ μὲν εἶδος ἐσχήκασιν ἄρρητον, πρόκεινται δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς τρυφὴν κοινήν, εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν κόρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, καθάπερ ἀέρος χύμα καὶ πόλου πλάτος καὶ ἡλίου κάλλος καὶ κόσμος ἅπας, τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ δεσπότου μεγαλουργήματα.

47. καίτοι γε πολλάκις κατ' ἐμαυτὸν διηπόρουν, τί δήποτε ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ ἐπαινέσας, κοινὸν οἱ πάντες ἔσχον, τὸ μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπαινέσαι, μήτε τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις δοῦναι τὸν ἥλιον, μήτε μὴν ἅπασαν γῆν, καὶ ἅπαν ἀέρος χύμα τοῖς λόγοις ἀποσεμνύναι, εἰ καὶ μέρος ἀποτεμόμενοι εἶπον, ὅπως ἂν ἢ θέσεως ἢ εὐφορίας ἢ κράσεως [fol. 187^{r}] ἔχοιεν. καὶ ταῦτα διαποροῦντί μοι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας λύσεις ὁ νοῦς ἐσχεδίαζε, καὶ πολλὰς εὐλόγους καὶ πιθανάς· ὅτι τυχὸν οὐρανὸς μὲν οὐ παρὰ πᾶσι τ «ε καὶ» ἀεὶ τὰ χρήσιμα φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκηπτοὺς καταπέμπει, καὶ χάλαζαν συνιστᾷ, καὶ πρηστῆρας ἀφίησι, καὶ ἐξαισίους ἤχους βροντῶν ἐπιρρήγνυσιν· ἥλιος δὲ οὐκ ἀεὶ λαμπρός τε καὶ ἥμερος, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέφει ἐπισκοτεῖται, καὶ δριμεῖαν αὖθις τὴν ἀκτῖνα φωτοβολεῖ. καὶ γῆ καὶ ἀήρ, ἡ μὲν ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων ἀπογεννᾷ, ὁ δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ φθείρεται, καὶ λοιμοὺς φέρει, μέγαν τοῖς παθοῦσι τὸν κίνδυνον ἔχοντας.

5-6 Cf. Proclus, *In rem publicam* (ed. Kroll), I, 142, 16; Greg. Naz., *or.* 7.23 (*PG* 35: 788B) || 9-10 Aristoteles? locum non inveni || 10 cf. *Logos*, ch. 17.

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5 χρώμενος C || 27 τε καὶ coni. Ševčenko; τ.... C.

I shall set these limits to my oration, leaving the rest as a subject for those who wish to honor the great man magnificently and generously with elegantly crafted compositions and to adorn and magnify those «miracles» through their superior skill; those who use the events as raw material so that the creative Logos, increasing or decreasing, melting down and reworking, composing nicely and polishing, and adding and subtracting, might give shape to the formless and, in the words of the Stageirite «i.e., Aristotle», "might give order to that which is unorganized," giving form to the raw material of events and perfecting the subject matter in the best way. Even if the deeds of the great man should not be considered raw material which needs skilful endowment with the form of words, «the deeds» do have ineffable form from God and are a common delight for us, and insatiable enjoyment, just like the flow of air and breadth of sky and beauty of the sun and all the world, the great accomplishments of the Lord for us all.

47. And, indeed, I often wondered to myself why, when different men praised different things in the world, they all had in common the fact that they did not praise the sky, or compose an encomium of the sun, or, indeed, glorify with words the whole earth and flow of air, even though they selected part «of them» and spoke about their situation or fertility or climate. And as I was wondering about these matters, my mind devised first one solution, then another; and many of them were reasonable and probable—that perhaps the sky does not always bring useful things, nor does it bring them to all; but it also casts down thunderbolts, and produces hail, and sends forth waterspouts with lightning, and rends «the air» with violent crashes of thunder. And as for the sun, it is not always bright and gentle, but is darkened by clouds or, on the other hand, shines with fierce rays. As for the earth and air, the former sometimes gives birth to venomous reptiles, the latter sometimes spoils and brings plagues which cause great danger for their victims.

48. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦσαν μοι πρώην εἰς λύσιν τῆς ἀπορίας σχεδιαζόμενα· ἠγνόουν δὲ ἄρα ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ὡς μονοειδῆ πρὸς τὰς ἀποδείξεις, καὶ ὡς ἀπαράμιλλα πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων συγκρίσεις, πολὺ τὸ δυσχερὲς ἔχουσιν, οὔτε τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐχούσης ἐξ ἄλλων καθόλου καὶ ὡς αὐτὰ συμπεραίνειν τὰ [fol. 187^{v}] κατ' αὐτά, οὔτε τῆς τῶν λόγων τέχνης οἵας τε οὔσης εὑρεῖν πρὸς ἅπερ αὐτὰ παραβάλοι, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον τούτοις ἐπισυνάξοι ταῖς παραθέσεσιν. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις οὕτως—καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ τὸ πλημμελὲς ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχουσι—τοῖς καλοῖς κοινῶς ἐντρυφήμασι, τί ξένον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ τοὺς λόγους ἐξαπορεῖν; ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ μεγίστην οἶδα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐφημίαν καὶ δόξαν ἀρίστην, ἐν τῷ καὶ λόγου κρείττω τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα δειχθῆναι.

49. πάντως ἀπόχρη τῶν Ἀθανασίου καλῶν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν ἑξῆς τι προσθήσομεν· καὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον ἦν τὸ σιγᾶν, εἴπερ τρόπους εὐνοίας παριστᾶν ἔμελλεν, ὥστε μήτε τὰ τίμια τοῖς λόγοις καταρρυπαίνεσθαι, καὶ ψυχῆς τὸν πόθον δηλοῦσθαι. ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μή, ἀπληστίας φεύγων γραφήν, ῥαθυμίας ἐγκλήματι περιπέσω, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοιούτοις ἀκροαταῖς, οὓς ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασι τῶν καλῶν οὐ τὸ πλέον οἶδα [fol. 188^{r}] τοῦ μετρίου, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνδεέστερον, ἀνιᾶν. λεγέσθω τοιγαροῦν καὶ παρατιθέσθω τοῖς καλοῖς ὑμῖν δαιτυμόσιν εἰς κόρον τὰ ἐκείνου καλά.

50. περὶ τὸ μοχθηρὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἄστατον τοῦτο σῶμα πολλὰ τῶν ἀλλεπαλλήλων νοσημάτων εἰώθασι φύεσθαι, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸ συνήθως ἀγροικικῶς οὕτω πως καλούμενον ἀπόστημα. τούτῳ συνείχοντο ὁ τοῦ Μαγγαφᾶ Ἰακώβου υἱὸς Μανουήλ, περὶ τὸν ὦμον τούτου φυέντι, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βρανᾶ μοναχὴ Εὐφροσύνη θυγάτηρ. ἐπήρκεσε καὶ τούτοις πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πάθους ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ μόνου χρίσις σὺν τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ μεγάλου τῇ ἁλοιφῇ ἐπιβωμένη, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίσης τὸ θαῦμα διακηρύττειν οὐ παύονται.

51. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σκυθογενοῦς Ἰωάννου ἀμπελουργὸς τοὺς πόδας ἀλγῶν κομιδῇ πονήρως, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης βεβλῆσθαι,

1 in margine, ση(μείωσον) ταῦτα C || 15 in margine, στά(σις) β'.

48. This is what I first devised to solve the problem; but I did not understand that «the sun and earth and air» are unique as well as incomparable and, therefore, difficult to demonstrate or praise by means of comparisons, since neither can knowledge draw any conclusions at all about them from other and similar things, nor is rhetoric able to discover to what it should compare them and infer their superiority through comparisons. But if this is so in the case of those commonly good things in which we delight—even though in part they cause us much trouble—why should it be strange that a speech about our great man should meet with great difficulties? For I know that the great reputation and highest fame of the man lies in this—that all of his deeds are shown to be greater than words can express.

49. In any case, these virtues of Athanasios would be sufficient even if I did not add any of those following; and it would have been very fitting to keep silence, if silence were able to contribute to the showing of good will; thus that which is honorable would not be defiled with words, while the yearning of «my» soul would be revealed. But I am afraid that, if I avoid an indictment for verbosity, I will then be charged with neglect, especially by such an audience as you who, I know, in the case of narratives of virtues, would prefer an excess to any deficiency «of details». Therefore, let the virtues of that man be told, and let an abundant feast be set before you worthy guests.

50. Many different diseases are likely to develop in this wretched and humble and unstable body of ours, among others, the affliction usually called 'boils' in common language. Manuel, the son of Jacob Mangaphas, was afflicted by one on his shoulder, as was the nun Euphrosyne, daughter of Branas. For relief from their suffering it sufficed for them only to anoint themselves with oil, and, while rubbing it on, to invoke the name of the great man; and they likewise have not ceased to proclaim the miracle to others.

51. The vine-dresser of John Skythogenes had such terrible pain in his legs that he was confined to bed and was wasting away

καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὀδύνῃ ἀθλίως ἀπομαραίνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὖν τό γε εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἦκον ἡ νόσος οὐδαμῶς ἰάσιμος ἦν (νενέκρωντο γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς [fol. 188^{v}] αἱ ἰγνύαι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς βάσεις τούτου σφυρά), τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου θαυμάτων εἰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῷ ἐρχομένων, ἐδίψα μὲν καταλαβεῖν τὴν μονὴν καὶ τῇ θαυματουργῷ σορῷ προσπεσεῖν, ἠπορεῖτο δὲ τοῖς ὅλοις καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅτι καὶ δράσειεν. οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζυγίῳ ἐποχθῆναι δυνατὸς ἦν, καὶ κλινοπετῆ ἐκεῖσε κομισθῆναι ἐπιεικῶς δυσχερές. τί οὖν ποιεῖ; φθάνει τὸν τόπον τῇ διανοίᾳ, τοῖς τῆς πίστεως διαθέει πτεροῖς, αὐτῆς ψάυει τῆς σοροῦ τοῖς χείλεσι, καλεῖ, καὶ σώματι μακρὰν ὤν, τὸν ἐγγὺς παρεῖναι μὴ ἀποροῦντα διὰ τῆς χάριτος· "εἰσέλθοι τὸ ἀξίωμά μου", λέγων, "ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ δός τῇ πρὸς Θεοῦ σου δυνάμει κάμοὶ τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ τὴν ἴασιν." καὶ ὁ ἅγιος, ταχύνας ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ἄμφω κουφίζει τῶν ἀλγηδόνων, λύει τὰς πέδας αὐτῷ τῶν ποδῶν, ἄρτιον εὐθὺς ὅλον δείκνυσιν, οὐ βαδίσμασι μόνον ἐλευθέροις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅλμασιν ἤδη χρώμενον, [fol. 189^{r}] μικροῦ καὶ ἑαυτῷ διαπιστεῖν ἔχοντα, εἰ ἐκεῖνος εἴη ὁ πρὸ ὀλίγου πάθει τοσούτῳ πεπεδημένος.

52. καταλαμβάνει τοίνυν τὸ μοναστήριον, εὖ ποδῶν ἔχων, εὖ πίστεως, τῇ σημειοφόρῳ προσπίπτει σορῷ, "εὐχαριστῶ σοι", λέγων, "τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐρρύσω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀπὸ δακρύων, καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπὸ ὀλισθήματος." εἶτα τὴν νόσον διηγησάμενος, καὶ οἵαις ὀδύναις τῶν ποδῶν κατετρίβετο (ἠδὺ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς διήγημα τὰ τῆς νόσου λέγειν μετὰ τὴν νόσον, ὥσπερ ἄρα καὶ λυπηρὰ δηλαδὴ πάντα μετὰ τὴν παρέλευσιν), ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῆς ὑγείας ὅπως ἀθρόα καὶ ταχυτάτη γέγονε πάντα διασαφήσας, εὐθυμῶν οἴκαδε ἐπανήει.

53. ἀλλὰ καιρὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Θεολήπτου διασαφῆσαι. οὗτος τοῖς φοιτηταῖς τοῦ μεγάλου συνών, καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον εὐπετῶς ἐκπληρῶν (ἔστι γὰρ ὑπακοῆς ἐργάτης κομιδῇ ὁ ἀνήρ), προστάττεταί ποτε παρὰ [fol. 189^{v}] τῇ Λέσβῳ φοιτῆσαι, καὶ διατρίβων ἐκεῖσε,

9-30 *Vita Lucae*, 58-59.

14 Θεὸν C || 28 τὴν C add. supra lineam.

wretchedly with that pain, since the disease was in no way curable by human skill (for his thighs and ankles were absolutely mortified). When he heard about the miracles of this great man, he yearned to go to the monastery and prostrate himself before the miracle-working sarcophagus, but he was completely at a loss and did not know what to do. For he could not ride on a donkey; and since he was bedridden, it was quite difficult for him to be transported there. So what did he do? He arrived at the place in his imagination, he ran there with the wings of faith, «in his vision» he touched the sarcophagus with his lips, and although far away in body, he invoked the one who was able to draw near by Grace, saying, "May my petition come before you, and with your power from God grant a cure to me in my wretchedness." And the saint, quickly bringing him benefit, relieved him of both causes of his pain, freed his legs from their fetters and immediately showed him to be completely cured, not only walking freely, but even leaping along and scarcely able to believe that he was the same man who shortly before was encumbered with such an affliction.

52. Therefore, he came to the monastery, sound in his legs and sound in his faith, and fell down before the miraculous sarcophagus, saying, "I thank you, man of God, because you have delivered my eyes from tears and my legs from destruction." Then, after telling the tale of his affliction and how he was consumed by the pains in his legs (for it is really pleasant to talk about illness after the illness, just as about all sorrows after they have passed away), and after recounting in detail how he was suddenly and swiftly healed, he joyfully returned home.

53. But now it is time to tell about the monk Theoleptos, who lived with the disciples of the great man and readily carried out every command (for the man was utterly obedient). He was bidden once to go to Lesbos, and while there, due to the malice of the

φθόνῳ τοῦ παλαμναίου Βελίαρ, καταπέπωκε σὺν τῷ ὕδατι λεληθότως βδέλλαν, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνην τὴν Σολομώντειον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ὕδασι νηχομένην, ἣν πάντες ἴσασιν. ἥτις καὶ κολληθεῖσα τούτου τῷ λάρυγγι, καὶ τῇ συνήθει ἀπληστίᾳ τοῦ αἵματος δεινῶς ἐκμυζῶσα, κίνδυνον ὅσον οὔπω ἠπείλει τῷ μοναχῷ. ἀπάρας τοίνυν ἐκεῖθεν, τὴν βασιλίδα καταλαμβάνει. πρόσεισι τῇ μονῇ, προσπίπτει τῷ τεμένει τῷ θήκην τὴν πανίερον ἔχοντι, προσπλέκεται τῇ σορῷ, κατασπάζεται ταύτην, λούει θερμοῖς τοῖς δάκρυσιν. εἶτα πίστει ζεούσῃ δραξάμενος τῆς φωταγωγοῦ, χανδὸν ἐκροφᾷ, καὶ ὡς μόνον τῆς βδέλλης τὸ ποθὲν ἥψατο, διαλύει ταύτην οἷα καὶ πῦρ. καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁ Θεόληπτος ἀπαθής, δοξάζων τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα Ἀθανάσιον.

54. εἰ καὶ πρόσθεν δ' ὁ λόγος [fol. 190r] ἀπείπατο τοῖς ἐπέκεινα θαυμασίοις προσβάλλειν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπηνήνατο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος,τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος προσφόρως ἐπιμνησθείς, τὸ ἡ σιγὴ πανταχοῦ ἀνυπεύθυνον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας, τὸ ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγὴ λόγου κρείττων, ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγῆς λόγος (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν οὐδ' ὁπηοῦν μοι παρεισελθόν), παρέπεισε μὴ σιγᾶν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς τόνδ' ἐμαυτὸν ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα φθάνω γ' ἔτι ἀναστήσας, τάχα καὶ τὸ περιμανὲς τὸ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἐρώτων τῇ τῶν θαυμάτων σχολῇ δίδωσι παρατείνειν καὶ τὸν περὶ τούτων ἀναπείθει δικαιότατα λόγον, μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ὁρῶν κεχηνότας πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πόθῳ τούτων ἐνισχημένους, καὶ τὸν πόθον τούτων ἀγάμενος.

55. οὐ μὴν δέ τινα ἀτερπῆ τε καὶ ἀηδῆ, οἷα φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασι γίγνεσθαι, παρενείρωμεν τῷ λόγῳ (οὔκουν γὰρ ἡμῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὔκουν), ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν μνημονεύσας ἔτι, καὶ τούτων ὡς εἴωθεν ἀφελῶς καὶ «οὐκ» ἐνδιασκεύως, [fol. 190v] (νικᾶν γὰρ πόθος οἶδε ψυχῆς καὶ τέχνας λόγων καὶ σχήματα, καὶ ξύμπασαν τὴν τούτων οἰκονομίαν καὶ μέθοδον), ἑστιάσει χαριέντως τὰς φιλοκάλους ὑμῶν

2 Cf. Pr 30:15 || 18 Plato? locum non inveni || 19-20 Eurip., *Orestes*, 638-39.

18 ἀν. πεύθυνον C || 31 οὐκ addidi.

abominable Beliar, swallowed a leech with some water by mistake; «the leech was» not the kind mentioned by Solomon, but the familiar kind which swims in the water. Since it stuck in his throat and with its customary greed sucked out his blood in a fearful manner, it threatened the monk with sudden death. Consequently, he departed from the island and arrived in the capital. He went to the monastery, prostrated himself in the shrine which contained the all-holy coffin, clung to the sarcophagus, embraced it, and washed it with warm tears. Then with ardent faith he seized the lamp and greedily gulped the oil; as soon as the liquid touched the leech, it dissolved like fire. And now Theoleptos has recovered, praising God, the giver of good things, and His servant Athanasios.

54. Even if previously my oration renounced tackling additional miracles and rejected them because of their great number, properly mindful of the words of Plato, "Silence is never liable to censure," nevertheless, the words of the tragedian, "Sometimes silence is better than speech, sometimes speech is better than silence," have persuaded me not to remain silent (I don't know the source «of this quotation» or how it occurred to me). At any rate, I have already risen to this task; and, perhaps, the passion of «my» love for the great man permits me to prolong the discussion of his miracles and most rightly persuades me to dwell on them, especially since I see my listeners all agape and seized with desire for them and since I admire their yearning for them.

55. Let me not introduce anything unpleasant and disagreeable into my oration, as often happens in narratives (for this is not for me, not at all); rather, the oration will recall one or two more «miracles» and, as is its custom, in an artless, «not» elaborate manner (for the yearning of one's soul knows how to prevail over both rules and forms of rhetoric and all its principles and methods), and will provide a pleasant feast for your ears which love beauty,

ἀκοάς, καὶ ἑστιάσει πολλῷ βέλτιον ἥπερ ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος. εἱστίασε μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μετὰ τὸ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην ἐλεῖν. καὶ ἐς ἀνδρῶνα μὲν ἑκατοντάκλινον τὸν δεῖπνον ὑπέθετο· κλίνη δὲ ἦν ἑκάστῳ ἀργυρόπους, χρυσόπους δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ. ἅπας δ' ἐπέπαστο πέπλοις ἀργυροῖς καὶ ποικίλοις ἐξ ὑφῆς μεγατίμου βαρβαρικῆς. οὐ ταῦτα δὲ μόνα τοῦ δείπνου ἦσαν φιλότιμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πεζικαὶ δυνάμεις, αἱ ναυτικαί τε καὶ ἱππικαί, καὶ αἱ παρεπιδημοῦσαι τῷ τότε πρεσβεῖαι εἱστιῶντο ἀθρόαι πολυτελῶς, αἱ μὲν ἀντιπρόσωποι περὶ τὴν προαύλειον, αἱ δὲ κατακλινόμεναι σύνεγγυς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καιρὸς ἐς δαῖτα παριέναι, προσαλπιστὰ τὰ δεῖπνα ἐγίνοντο, τὸ μὲν συγκλητικὸν ἀδούσης μέλος τῆς σάλπιγγος, [fol. 191r] ὅταν παρείη δειπνήσων Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸ δ' ἀνακλητικόν, ὅτ' ἐσήμαινεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἐφ' ἱκαναῖς δ' ἡμέραις ὡσαύτως ἑστιάσας, ἀνῆκε τὸν θάλαμον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος, εἰ καὶ τοῖς πολυτελέσι τούτοις ἐκόμπαζε, καὶ πολλὴν ἐνεποίει τοῖς συνεστιωμένοις κατάπληξιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶχε φρονεῖν ἀθάνατα καὶ συνδιαιωνίζειν τούτῳ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὡς ἡμῖν. τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα λαμπρὰ καὶ πολλῷ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐχέφροσιν αἱρετώτερα, ὅσῳ καὶ θειότερα καὶ χρηστότερα, καὶ ἄντικρυς ὑπερφωνοῦντα φύσιν τὴν βρότειον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς Θεοῦ κεχάρισται τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ τῶν θαυμασίων πλῆθος ἐπιεικῶς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πλοῦτος ἀστάτου τύχης μεταφερόμενος.

56. νεανίας τις Μανουὴλ τὴν κλῆσιν, τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Βουρδῆς, περὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα τῶν Κυνηγῶν τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχων, νόσῳ περιπεσὼν δυσιάτῳ (εἴτ' ἐκ δαιμονικῆς ἐνσκήψεως, εἴτε τῆς νόσου τοῦτο συμφορησάσης τῇ τῶν μοχθηρῶν καὶ λοιμωδῶν χυμῶν ἀναθυμι [fol. 191v] άσει πρὸς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἃ συμπίπτειν φάσκουσιν οἱ Ἀσκληπιάδαι μάλιστ' ἐκ μελαίνης χολῆς), ἄλαλος κατὰ τὸν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις γέγονε καὶ

2-17 Cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 8.7, et Athen., *Deipnosophist.* 538b-e || 33 cf. Mk 9:17-27.

1 ἥπερ] εἴπερ C || 13 προσαλπιστὰ] num lege πρὸς σάλπιγγα? cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, 8.7. || 16 ἐσήμαινον C || 18 ἐκεῖνο. C.

indeed, will provide a much better feast than Alexander, the son of Philip. For he once gave a banquet for himself and his friends after he conquered Darius the Persian. And he had the meal set out in a banqueting hall with a hundred couches. Each guest had a couch with silver feet, while «Alexander's» had feet of gold. And everyone was bedecked with silver and multi-colored garments of precious and exotic weave. And these were not the only extravagant aspects of the feast, but also the infantry, the naval and cavalry forces, and the embassies, who were in attendance at that time, were lavishly entertained all together, some of them facing him in the forecourt, the others reclining nearby. And when it was time to go in to the banquet, the feasting was accompanied by trumpets, the trumpet playing the tune of summons when Alexander entered for the banquet, and the tune of dismissal when he gave the signal to depart. And after entertaining «his guests» in this way for a number of days, he left the chamber. But even if Alexander did boast of this lavish hospitality and greatly astonished his fellow banqueters, still he was not able to live forever, nor did his pleasure last with him forever, as it does with us. For our «banquet» is brilliant and much preferable to that of Alexander for men of good understanding, inasmuch as it is more divine and useful and openly surpasses mortal nature, since the multitude of miracles has been fittingly granted by God to the great man; whereas «Alexander's banquets» were just wealth which fickle chance carries hither and thither.

56. A young man named Manuel Bourdes, who lived by the shore of the Kynegoi quarter, was stricken by a disease which is very difficult to cure (either as the result of a demonic attack, or because disease brought it on through the rising of evil and pestilential humors to the brain, which doctors say is caused by black bile); he became mute and deaf like the boy in the Gospel, and

κωφός, νεκρός τε τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ἀτεχνῶς ἐνομίζετο. ὁρᾷ γοῦν κατ' ὄναρ (ἀλλά με μηδεὶς τῶν ὀνειράτων ἕνεκα κωμωδήσῃ καὶ νεμεσήσῃ, μεμνημένος τῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ πολλαχῇ γραφομένων. ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐν ὕπνῳ τοῦ σώματος αὐτὴν μὴ περισπῶντος, ἡδίστην μὲν ἔχει ἀνάπαυσιν, ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν γενομένη, Θεῷ δὲ κατὰ συγγένειαν ὁμιλεῖ, πάντῃ μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶσα, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων προθεσπίζουσα, ὡς ἀπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν, μακαρίας τ' ἰσχύος καὶ πάντοθεν ἀκωλύτου μετασχοῦσα δυνάμεως, ἀόρατος μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ὄμμασιν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός), ὁρᾷ γοῦν τὸν μέγαν ἑστῶτα τοῦ νεὼ μέσον, τῇ συνήθει μορφῇ καὶ ἀναβολῇ, καὶ στολῇ πάσῃ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις ὡς ἔθος ἀμπέχεσθαι, ὁπηνίκα τὴν ἀναί [fol. 192r] μακτον Θεῷ θυσίαν προσφέρουσι, περικεκοσμημένον, φαιδρὸν τὴν ὄψιν, μῆλον ἐν χεροῖν φέροντα μέγιστον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῶν γραμμάτων πρῶτον στοιχεῖον τηλαυγῶς ἐπεγέγραπτο· ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ μετὰ δόξης ἀρρήτου τὴν πανυπέραγνον Κυρίαν τῶν πάντων καὶ δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον, ἥτις καὶ βουλόμενον τὸν πατριάρχην δοῦναι τὸ μῆλον τῷ νεανίᾳ διεκώλυε λέγουσα· "μὴ δῆτα μηδαμῶς τοῦτο παράσχῃς αὐτῷ, ἕως ἂν πλεῖστα καθικετεύσῃ καὶ πολλά σου δεηθῇ ὡς εἰκός". ἤκουσεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ βοᾶν ἤρξατο· "δός μοι τοῦτο, πανάγιε δέσποτα, δός μοι". ταῦτ' ἐβόα καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου λυθείς, ἀνὰ στόμα περιφέρων τὸ "δός μοι". κατὰ τὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆλον, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἐπεγέγραπτο στοιχείῳ τῷ πρώτῳ, ἀναδιφᾶν καὶ συζητεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις παρήκαμεν, καὶ πλέκειν συλλογισμούς, εἰ καὶ σαφές ἐστι καὶ λίαν εὔληπτον τοῖς ἐχέφροσι καὶ μὴ τεθολωμένοις τῷ φθόνῳ τὸν λογισμόν. ἐρρέτωσαν πρὸς ταῦτα κήπου τοῦ Ἀλκινόου [fol. 192v] τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα, ἐφ' ἃ Ἡρακλέα λόγος ἐλθεῖν, τά τε Δελφικὰ παίγνια καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν τοῦ Πάριδος ὕθλος ἐπὶ τῷ μήλῳ, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐπὶ τούτοις τελετὴ καὶ μυστήριον!

57. οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ βοᾶν ἤρξατο ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ πεπεδημένος γλῶτταν, καὶ ἀκοὴν βεβυσμένος, "δράμετε",

2-4 Cf. Mt 1:20, 2:12, 13, 19, 22; Acta 16:9 || 30 cf. Hom., *Od.*, VII, 120.

17 δεξιὼν C.

he was simply thought to be dead by those who saw him. In any case, he saw in a dream (and let no one ridicule and reproach me with regard to dreams, but remember the dreams which are recorded in many places in the Gospel and in the Apostle. For when the soul is asleep, it is not disturbed by the body, but has the sweetest repose by itself, and speaks with God on account of its kinship «with Him», and wanders everywhere, and predicts many future events, as if released from the weight which drags it down to earth and possessed of blessed strength and unhindered power from all sides but, like God Himself, remaining invisible to human eyes.), at all events, he saw the great man standing in the middle of the church with his usual appearance and garments, and decked out in all the vestments which it is customary for hierarchs to wear when they offer the bloodless sacrifice to God. With shining visage, «Athanasios» was carrying in his hands an enormous apple on which the first letter of the alphabet was clearly inscribed. And on his right in ineffable glory was the all-holy Lady and Mistress of all, the Mother of God, who, when the patriarch wanted to give the apple to the young man, prevented him, saying, "By no means give it to him until he makes a great many supplications and many petitions to you, as is fitting." The young man heard and began to shout, "Give it to me, all-holy master, give it to me." He was still shouting when he woke up with the words "Give it to me" on his lips. Why the apple was inscribed with the first letter of the alphabet, as I have said, I leave for those who wish to inquire, and investigate, and construct syllogisms, although it is clear and easily apprehended by men of good sense whose reason is not clouded by envy. And compared with this «apple», let the golden apples of the garden of Alcinous, for which it is said that Herakles came, go to perdition! To perdition also with the Delphic games, and the foolish tale about the goddesses and the apple of Paris, and every ceremony and mystery concerning these!

57. A little while later the boy, whose tongue had been tied shortly before and whose ears were stopped up, began to shout,

λέγων, "φθάσατε εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ ἰατρὸν τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον. κομίσατέ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πανιέρου τούτου λειψάνου ἀπηωρημένης θρυαλλίδος ἅγιον ἔλαιον, καὶ νᾶμα ζωηρὸν τῇ ἐπαφῇ τῶν λειψάνων ἁγιασθέν." οἱ γοῦν προσήκοντες ἐκ γένους τῷ νεανίᾳ θᾶττον ἢ λόγος ταῦτα μετακομίσαντες φθάνουσιν, οἷς ἀλειψάμενος καὶ πιών, ἀλλόμενος ὤφθη, λαμυρᾷ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ πομπικῇ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζων, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα Ἀθανάσιον εὐλογῶν. καταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὸν νεών, ἵνα τὸ πανίερον τεθησαύρισται λείψανον, κήρυξ διαπρύσιος αὐτὸς τοῦ θαύματος γίνεται, καὶ ἔτι σιγᾶν οὐ βού[fol. 193r]λεται, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ κηρύττων, καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα διαρρήδην ὑμνῶν.

58. ποία πρὸς ταῦτα λογογράφων ἐπίνοια, «ποία» δυνήσεται ῥητόρων τέχνη πρὸς μεῖζον ἐξᾶραι τὸ θαῦμα καὶ θαυμαστότερον ἀπεργάσασθαι; ἄλλως τε εἰ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, δόξαιμεν γ ύ γ α ρ θ ο ν φ υ σ ᾶ ν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου. πολλοῦ γὰρ δεῖται ἀγώνος τοῦτο, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε δυνατὸν ἴσως πρᾶξαι, ᾗ φησιν ἡ Θηβαία λύρα. ἐκείνοις γὰρ μόνοις ταῦτα ῥᾴδια, τοῖς μὴ ἐῶσι σκεδάννυσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐπειγομένοις ταύτην συνάγειν ἐπιμελέστατα (ἵν' οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν νοῦς φωτισθείη πρὸς Θεοῦ, καθαρθείη δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καθαγνισθείη, καὶ τέλος τὸ σῶμα σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπισυναφθείη τῷ νοΐ, καὶ τὸ τριπλοῦν ἁπλοῦν γένηται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἁπλουστάτην τριάδα ἕνωσιν, καὶ γένηται ἄνθρωπος οὐ σ α ρ κ ι κ ό ς, οὐδὲ ψ υ χ ι κ ό ς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅλον π ν ε υ μ α τ ι κ ό ς, μεταστοιχειωθεισῶν τῶν δύο γνωμικῶν προαιρέσεων εἰς τὸ τρίτον [fol. 193v] καὶ πρῶτον, λέγω δὴ τὸν νοῦν), μὴ ὅτι γε ἐμοὶ τῷ κατεβλακευμένῳ τὴν αἴσθησιν, καὶ παρεξηυλημένῳ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς.

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17 Cf. Apostol. V, 70; Diog., II, 21; Greg. Cypr., II, 77 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, II, 353, 21, 108); *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Adler, 1.1.549 || 19 cf. Pind., *Ol.* 11.4-6; *Nem.* 4.4-12; *Pyth.* 1.1-12 || 26-27 cf. 1 Cor 15:44-47; Greg. Naz., *carm.* 1.2.34.242 (*PG* 37: 963).

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14 ποία^2 addidi || 15 ἐξᾶραι coni. Callahan; cf. *Logos*, p. 86, 23 ἐξ.ρ.. C 18 τούτου C.

saying, "Hurry, go to my benefactor and savior and healer, holy Athanasios. Bring me holy oil from the vigil lamp, which is suspended above his all-holy relics, and fresh water sanctified by contact with the relics." The young man's relatives brought these things more quickly than I can tell you about it; and after he anointed himself with the oil and drank the water, he could be seen leaping about, praising God with charming and impressive speech, and blessing His servant Athanasios. And after he arrived at the church where the all-holy relics are preserved, he became a fervent herald of the miracle and up to now has refused to remain silent, proclaiming the works of God and openly celebrating His mighty deeds.

58. What inventive skill of speech-writers, therefore, what art of orators will be better able to magnify the miracle and make it even more miraculous? Especially if I should try to do this, I would seem "to blow into a net," as the saying goes. For «such magnification» requires a great effort, and even then it is probably not possible to do this, as Pindar says. For these things are easy only for those who do not allow their thoughts to be dispersed, but are eager to draw them carefully together (so that thus their mind may be illuminated by God, and their soul may be purified and their body hallowed, and so that finally the body and soul may be joined with the mind, and the triple become single through union into the single trinity, and man may become not corporeal, not natural, but totally spiritual, as the two ways of life involving choice are transformed into the third stage, which is the first, I mean, the mind); but «they are» certainly not «easy» for me, negligent in perception as I am, and worn out in mind by luxurious living.

59. πλὴν ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχει τοῦτο λιπόντες, ἐφ' ἕτερον βαδιούμεθα, οὐ κατὰ πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνόμοιον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάνθ' ὅμοιον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θήλεος τυγχάνει γένους ἡ θεραπείας τυχοῦσα, ταὐτὰ δὲ ὡς ἄλαλος πάσχουσα καὶ αὕτη καὶ ἐπὶ μησὶν ἑπτά, οὐ τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἐκείνην ἀσκοῦσα σιγήν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου ὡς τὰ ἱερὰ διαγορεύουσι λόγια, ἀλλ' ἣν πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν οἶδε προξενεῖν, τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ἀταξίᾳ τὰς νόσους τοῖς ταλαιπώροις ἐπισωρεύουσα σώμασι, παραχωροῦντος ταῦτα Θεοῦ τῷ βάθει τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ προνοίας καὶ διοικήσεως, λόγοις ἀρρήτοις οἰκονομίας καὶ ἀκαταληψίας. φθάνει γοῦν καὶ αὐτή, ἢ μᾶλλον προφθάνει πτεροῖς τῆς πίστεως, πρὸς τὸ ἄμισθον ἰατρεῖον, τὴν ἀνεξάντλητον πηγήν, τὴν ἀδαπάνητον [fol. 194r] κρήνην, τὴν μὴ κενουμένην χάριν, τὴν σορόν, φημί, τοῦ παμμάκαρος, καὶ τρυγᾷ τὴν ἴασιν ἐν ἀκαρεί. καὶ εὔλαλος ἡ ἄλαλος ἀναδείκνυται, μάρτυς ἀπαράγραπτος τοῦ θαύματος εἰσέτι διατελοῦσα, καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτὴ φιλαλήθως ταῦτα διηγουμένη, καὶ Θεὸν ἐκκαλουμένη τούτων συνίστορα.

60. σὺν ταύτῃ καὶ Μαρία ἡ ἀπὸ κωμυδρίου τοῦ Σαμουὴλ καλουμένου καὶ Καλὴ ἡ τοῦ Βολεροῦ εἰσαγέσθωσαν τῷ λόγῳ· ὧν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ τρίμηνον ῥίγει συνεχομένη (ὃ συμβαίνειν εἴωθε τῇ σήψει τῆς ἀναζεούσης χολέρας, τῇ συστολῇ τοῦ θερμοῦ πηγνυμένων τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ σώματος τῷ κρύει, καὶ αὖθις ἀναζεόντων τῇ ἐξάψει τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ τὰ χείριστα τῶν νοσημάτων φύεται, πλημυρούσης ἐν τῷ σώματι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, ἐλεφαντιάσεις καὶ λέπραι καὶ ψῶραι καὶ ἀλφοί, καὶ σκίρροι, καὶ καρκίνοι, καὶ ὄγκοι καρκινώδεις), προσελθοῦσα θᾶττον ἢ λόγος τὴν ἴασιν εὕρατο. [fol. 194v]

61. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Βολεροῦ τέσσαρσιν ἐφ' ὅλοις χρόνοις ἐπὶ σκίμποδος, ὡς ὁ παράλυτος, ἀκίνητος μείνασα (τῶν θαυμασίων σου, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, τῶν διὰ τῶν σῶν θεραπόντων ἐνεργουμένων!), οὐχ ἡμερῶν ἐδεήθη καὶ χρονίας δεήσεως, ἀλλ' ἅμα προσῆλθε καὶ τελείαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς νόσου

6-7 Cf. Lk 1:20 || 32 cf. Mt 9:2 ff.

27 πλημμυρούσης C.

59. But leaving this «miracle» as it is, we will go on to another, little different from the previous, indeed similar in every way except that the person who was cured was a woman; and she, too, suffered the same affliction in that she was unable to speak for seven months, not practicing the silence of the Pythagoreans, or that of Zacharias which the Holy Scriptures relate, but that which a multitude of sins can bring on, heaping up diseases on wretched bodies through the disorder of elements, God permitting this in the depth of His wisdom and foresight and ordinance with ineffable reasons of accommodation and incomprehensibility. Thus she arrived, or rather she came ahead of herself on the wings of faith, at the «place of» free healing, the unfailing fountain, the inexhaustible spring, the ever abundant grace (I mean the sarcophagus of the blessed one). Immediately she was healed. And she who was mute regained her speech and still continues to be an unimpeachable witness of the miracle, both telling us this story herself truthfully, and calling God as a witness.

60. After this woman, let also Maria, from the village called Samuel, and Kalē, the daughter of Boleros, be introduced in my story. The woman from Samuel, after being gripped for three months by a chill (which is likely to occur as a result of the fermentation of the bile which boils up, as the extremities of the body become stiff with cold through the remission of warmth and again warm up through the heating of black bile. For the worst diseases occur from this «bile» when it is congested in our body—elephantiasis, and leprosy, and mange, and dull-white leprosy, and tumors, and cancers, and cancerous growths); «she,» coming «to the church», found healing faster than I can tell.

61. The daughter of Boleros, after remaining motionless on a pallet for four whole years like the paralytic «in the Gospel» (O, your miraculous works, Christ the King, effected through your servants!), did not require lengthy supplication for days on end, but as soon as she arrived, she received a complete cure of her af-

ὁρᾷ. καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα μέλη συσφίγγεται, καὶ καθαρῶς δοξάζει τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ῥύστην ὡς ἐνὸν ἀνυμνεῖ.

62. παρατείνειν καὶ ἔτι τὸν λόγον ἔλκει με τῶν θαυμασίων τὰ χαριέστατα, μαρτυροῦντα τηλαυγῶς εὖ μάλα οἵας παρὰ Θεῷ τῆς δόξης ὁ μέγας ἔτυχε. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ μεγαλόδωρον [τῆς] αὐτοῦ, μεγάλων ἠξίωται καὶ τῶν πρὸς Θεοῦ χαρισμάτων καὶ δωρεῶν. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν ἀποστολικῶς τὸν βίον βιώσαντα καὶ χαρίσμασιν ἀποστολικοῖς κοσμεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον. ἔδει τὸν ἐ ξ ἀ π α λ ῶ ν ὀ ν ύ χ ω ν καὶ ἐ κ π ρ ώ τ η ς, ὅ φασι, τ ρ ι χ ὸ ς καθιερωμένον Θεῷ καὶ μετὰ δ ι π λ ο [fol. 195r] ῖ δ ο ς κατὰ τ ὸ ν β λ έ π ο ν τ α Σ α μ ο υ ή λ, ὡς Θεοῦ δ ο τὸ ν ἐν ο ἴ κ ῳ Κ υ ρ ί ο υ τερατουργεῖν τοιαῦτα, ὧν ἤδη καὶ τὸ νῦν ῥηθησόμενον.

63. γυνὴ γάρ τις, Μαρία τὴν κλῆσιν, Φραγγοπουλίνα δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, εἰκοστὸν ἦγε χρόνον, πάθει συνισχημένη καὶ αὐτὴ χαλεπῷ, καὶ οὐκ ὀλεθρίῳ μόνον καὶ δυσιάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ὅσην καὶ ἀφόρητον ἐμποιοῦν· περὶ γὰρ τὴν ὑστέραν τὸ πάθος, ἤτοι νηδύν (μήτραν αὐτὴν σύνηθες καλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς). ὅθεν δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖσε ταῦτα συμβαίνουσιν, ἐρεῖν ὁ λόγος οὐ βούλεται, τῆς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων φειδόμενος ἀκοῆς. αὕτη, κατὰ τὴν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις αἱμόρρουν, κλέπτει πανσόφως τὴν θεραπείαν, κεράσασα τῇ πίστει καὶ τέχνην ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ. πλὴν ἐκείνη μὲν προσῆλθε Χριστῷ, αὕτη δὲ Χριστοῦ φοιτητῇ τε καὶ μιμητῇ. ὅθεν καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὡς εἰκὸς τρυγᾷ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν, ῥάκους πανιέρου λάθρα συλήσασα τοῦ μεγάλου τμῆμά τι βραχύτατον, θυμιατηρίῳ τ' ἐπ' ἀνθράκων θεῖσα καὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφορηθεῖσα καπνοῦ, καὶ τηνικαῦτα τῶν ὀδυνῶν, ὧ Θεοῦ κριμάτων, ἀπαλλαγεῖσα (τῆς ταχίστης ἐπικουρίας, τῆς ἀφθόνου χάριτος [fol. 195v] ἧς πεπλούτηκας, οὐρανοφοίτα, Θεοῦ θεράπον πανίερε Ἀθανάσιε!). καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις αἱμόρρους ὑπειδομένη καὶ τ ρ έ μ ο υ σ α,

10 Apostolius, VII, 51[a] (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, II, 407) || 11 locum non inveni || 12 cf. 1 Reg 2:19 || 12-13 cf. 1 Chr 9:22 || 13 cf. 1 Reg 1:11, 24 || 22-23 cf. Mk 5:25 || 33 Mk 5:33.

7 τῆς uncis inclusi || 16 ἐπω..μίαν C.

fliction. And her paralyzed limbs were strengthened, and she clearly praised her benefactor and celebrated her savior and deliverer to the best of her ability.

62. The beauties of the miracles lead me to extend my oration yet further, clearly testifying to the glory which the great man received from God. For in accordance with his munificence, he was deemed worthy of great favors and gifts from God. For it was fitting for a man who lived his life in the manner of the Apostles to be adorned even after his death with apostolic gifts of grace. It was fitting for a man who was dedicated to God from infancy, from the time when his nails and hair first began to grow, as they say, and wore "a little coat" like "the seer Samuel" as a gift of God, to accomplish such marvels "in the house of the Lord," as is the one which I will now recount.

63. For a certain woman called Maria, Frangopoulina by surname, was in her twentieth year of affliction by a terrible disease, which was not only deadly and difficult to cure, but also caused unbearable shame; for the disease was in her uterus or belly (which most people usually call the womb). And how and why these problems occur there, I do not venture to say, sparing the ears of simple folk. This woman, like the woman in the Gospel with an issue of blood, most cleverly stole her cure by mixing artifice with faith like the woman in the Gospel, save that the latter approached Christ, while the former approached a disciple and imitator of Christ. Thus she was easily healed, as is reasonable, by secretly stealing a tiny piece of the holy ragged garment of the great man; and she placed it in a censer over hot coals and inhaled the fumes, and then (praised be the judgments of God!) she was delivered from her suffering (O, the swift succour, the bounteous grace with which you have been endowed, all-holy Athanasios, who walk in heaven, servant of God!). And the woman in the Gospel who had an issue of blood came hesitantly and "trembling," in the words of the Holy

ὥς φησι τὰ ἱερὰ λόγια, προσῆλθε μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ· αὕτη δὲ οὐ δεδοικυῖα καὶ τρέμουσα, ἀλλ' ἐκπληττομένη καὶ χαίρουσα, δοξάζει Θεὸν καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ ἀνακηρύττει τὸ θαῦμα μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε καὶ φιλαλήθως.

64. τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ Κατηνιτζίνῃ γεγονὸς τερατούργημα, ποίαν ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἐκπλήξει, ποίαν δὲ ψυχὴν οὐ διαναστήσει πρὸς δόξαν μὲν Θεοῦ, ἔπαινον δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρός; αὕτη διέτριβε μὲν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον διακειμένῃ Προύσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν ὑπώρειαν νήσου τῆς Βρεττανίας διακειμένῃ, ἣν Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, ἐν ᾗ λέγεται καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Σίμωνα τὸν Ζηλωτὴν κηρύξαι πρῶτον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (περὶ ἧς πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐξέκλινε, παρέλκον ἡγησάμενος τὴν ἐν χερσὶ πραγματείαν ἐᾶν, καὶ ταῖς συμπιπτούσαις ἐνασχολεῖσθαι τῶν ὑποθέσεων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν προσφόρως λεχθήσεται, τὸ [fol. 196r] κ έ ν τ ε ι τ ὸ ν π ῶ λ ο ν π ε ρ ὶ τ ὴ ν ν ύ σ σ α ν)· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ πᾶσι γνωρίμῳ σχεδόν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν πρωτόκλητον Ἀνδρέαν λόγος αἱρεῖ διὰ Βιθυνίας ἀπὸ τῆς Νικαέων ἐρχόμενον ἀφικέσθαι, κηρύξαντά τε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ βαπτίσαντα, διαπλεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ τὸν Στάχυν ἐν αὐτῷ χειροτονήσαντα, καὶ τῇ Θεοτόκῳ πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸν δειμάμενον, ἀναπλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀμινσόν.

65. ἐν ταύτῃ τοίνυν τῇ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον Προύσῃ ἡ ῥηθεῖσα Κατηνιτζίνα διάγουσα, πονηρῷ περιπίπτει πνεύματι, ὅπερ εἰσοικισθὲν αὐτῇ, οὐκ ἐκ διαλειμμάτων αὐτὴν ἐσπάραττεν, ὡς τοῖς σεληνιαζομένοις ἔθος ἐστίν, ἣ καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐκεχειρίαν ποτὲ παρεῖχεν αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ χρόνοις ὅλοις τρισκαίδεκα συνῆν ἀδιαλείπτως αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἔληγε νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς κράζον ἀηδῆ τινὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα, ξένον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι θέαμα, καὶ πονηρὸν τῷ ὄντι τοῖς ὁδίταις συνάντημα, ποτὲ μὲν ὕβρεσι βάλλον τοὺς παριόντας, ποτὲ δ' ὑλακτοῦν ὡς κυνάριον, ἄλλοτε φθεγγόμενον ἄσημά τε [fol. 196v] καὶ ἄναρ-

10-11 Cf. Herodot., III, 115 || 12-13 cf. Niceph. Call. Xanth. (*PG* 145: 864c) || 17-18 Apostolius, IX, 65 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, II, 475).

Scripture, to her benefactor after she was healed; but this woman was not fearful and trembling, but astonished and joyful, and praised God and celebrated His servant, and proclaimed the miracle truthfully and magnificently.

64. As for the miracle which occurred to Katenitzina, what ears will it not amaze, what soul will it not arouse to glorify God and praise the great and God-bearing father? She lived in the Prousa which lies next to Mt. Olympos, not in the one in the foothills of the island of Britain which Herodotos tells about and in which it is said that the Apostle Simon the Zealot first proclaimed the Gospel (concerning which my oration could say a great deal, but I decided to avoid that narrative since I believe it is a matter of redundancy to abandon the topic at hand and to become engrossed in incidental subjects, lest it be said fittingly of us, "Spur on the colt around the turning point!")—and «she lived» in this city, which is known to almost everyone, in which, as can be reasonably inferred, Andrew, the first-called «Apostle», arrived after coming through Bithynia from Nikaia; and after proclaiming the Gospel and baptizing many people there, he sailed to Byzantium; and after ordaining Stachys there and founding a church to the Mother of God on the acropolis, he sailed to Amisos.

65. Thus the above-mentioned Katenitzina, who lived in this Prousa close to Mt. Olympos, was afflicted by an evil spirit, which made itself at home in her and did not convulse her at intervals, as is usual with epileptics, or ever give her the slightest respite; but for thirteen whole years it continually lived with her and did not cease night and day to shout disgusting and uncouth «words» through her mouth, a strange sight for those who met with her and a really unpleasant encounter for travellers— sometimes it cursed those who passed by, sometimes it howled like a dog or uttered unintelli-

θρα, ἐνίοτε δὲ κινοῦν σαρδώνιον γέλωτα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κλαυθμυρίζον καὶ παντοῖα σχηματιζόμενον.

66. οὕτως γοῦν πασχούσης τῆς γυναικός, συνέβη τὰ περὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Προύσαν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ αὐτὴ δοριάλωτος μετὰ τοῦ συζύγου πρὸς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπάγεται, καὶ ὥς τι τέρας ἀπάγεται πρὸς τὸν ἀμηρᾶν. ἀποφαίνεται ὁ Πέρσης διαρραγῆναι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτῆς, "ἵν' εἰδῶμεν," φησίν, "ὅπου κατοικεῖ τὸ δαιμόνιον". βοᾷ διὰ στόματος αὐτῆς ὁ δαίμων ἀναίδην, ὡς "εἰ ἐξελάσεις με τοῦ πολυχρονίου μου τούτου καὶ ποθεινοτάτου οἰκήματος, εὐθέως πρὸς σὲ μετοικίζομαι, καὶ δράσω ἐν σοὶ κακὰ τὰ ἀφόρητα, καὶ εἴσῃ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν οἵα τε καὶ ὅση". ἤκουσεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον ὡς εἶχεν ἐμπτύσας αὐτῇ, ἀπολυθῆναι ταύτην καὶ φεύγειν παρεκελεύσατο.

67. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καταλαβοῦσα τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἡ γυνή, ἀνὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς σηκοὺς προσήδρευεν ὁσημέραι, καὶ τὰ τεμένη διήρχετο, τὴν θεραπείαν ζητοῦσα τοῦ τοσοῦδε κακοῦ. καὶ δὴ πολλὰ καμοῦσα [fol. 197r] καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν οἴκων καὶ λειψάνων προσδραμοῦσα καὶ παρεδρεύσασα τοῦ ζητουμένου διήμαρτε, τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἰδιαζόντως ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν αὐτοῦ βουλομένου δοξάσαι θεράποντα. πάντων λοιπὸν ἀπογνοῦσα, ὀψέ ποτε πρὸς τὸ ἄμισθον ἰατρεῖον ἔγνω καταφυγεῖν, τὴν σορόν, φημί, τοῦ παμμάκαρος, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ διακαρτερήσασα, καὶ καθαρᾶς τυχοῦσα παρ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἰάσεως, οὐκ ἔγνω παλινδρομῆσαι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ κόσμου τερπνὰ καὶ ᾄσαι παλινῳδίαν καὶ ἀχάριστος ὀφθῆναι περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατὰ τὸν φάμενον, ἃ μ' ἠλέηται καὶ τέθνηκεν ἡ χάρις, ἀλλὰ κειραμένη καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἀμείψασα, καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ θεραπεύσαντος Ἀθανασία κληθεῖσα, διάγει πανευλαβῶς πρὸς τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν σεμνεῖον ἡ πρὶν ἀκόσμως καὶ ἀσέμνως ζῶσα, σωφρόνως καὶ κοσμίως εὖ μάλα καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐργάτις, ὀφθῆναι σπεύδουσα τῶν ᾠκειωμένων Θεῷ. ταύτην σχεδὸν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πᾶσα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄψει παρειλή-

28 Menander, fr. 595.2 (ed. T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, III, 180); Zenobius, I, 81 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, I, 27).

2 κλαυθμηρίζον C || 21 ἰδι.ζόντως C.

gible and inarticulate sounds, sometimes it burst out in sardonic laughter, and other times it wept and assumed all sorts of postures.

66. While the woman was thus suffering, it happened that the region of Bithynia and Prousa fell into captivity, in which «city» she and her husband were taken prisoner and led into captivity; and she was brought before the emir like some freak of nature. The Persian «i.e., Turk» decided to split open her belly "so that we may see," he said, "where the demon lives." The demon cried out vehemently through her mouth, "If you drive me out of this, my dearly beloved home of long standing, I will straight away move in with you and will cause you unbearable troubles; and you will know the nature and strength of my power." When he heard these words, he spat at her in a barbarous fashion and ordered that she be released and allowed to depart.

67. Afterwards when the woman arrived in the capital, she spent every day visiting holy churches and passing through sacred precincts, seeking a cure for so great an affliction. And although she wore herself out running to and visiting many holy sanctuaries and relics, she failed to achieve her goal, since God, as it seems, wanted to glorify His servant in a special way through her. And so after despairing of all «means of help», at last she decided to have recourse to the «place of» free healing, I mean the sarcophagus of the blessed man; after she remained there for a short time and was completely cured by him, she decided not to return to the pleasures of the world and go back to her old ways and appear ungrateful to her benefactor, like the man who said, "As soon as grace was pitied, it died"; but she was tonsured and changed her name, taking the «religious» name Athanasia through love of the man who had healed her; and the woman who previously lived in an unseemly and indecent manner «now» lives piously at the convent, modestly and decorously as a worker of virtue, striving to be seen as one of God's own. Almost all of us in the capital, including myself, have observed this woman not only now when she is

φαμεν, οὐ μόνον νῦν ὅτε δὴ κοσμίως κατὰ μοναχὰς ἔσταλται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ὅτ' ἀκόσμως ἀνὰ τὰς ἀγυιὰς [fol. 197^{v}] καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς περιήρχετο, πανικώτερον ἀλλομένη τε καὶ βακχεύουσα.

68. ταῦτα μαθὼν καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ διάγων, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσε, καὶ συνισχημένος φρουρᾷ, πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν κἀκεῖνος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὸν μέγαν ἤρξατο. καὶ ὁ ταχὺς εἰς ἀντίληψιν, οἷα δὴ Χριστοῦ μιμητής, ὀπτάνεται κατ' ὄναρ ἐκείνῳ, καὶ συνετίζει μάλα ῥᾳδίως φυγῇ κλέψαι τὴν σωτηρίαν, "μὴ δέδιθι", λέγων, "ἄνθρωπε, μὴ δέδιθι. ἐπιγινώσκεις οἷος ἐγώ"; τοῦ δὲ συνθεμένου, πάλιν ἔφη, "μὴ δέδιθι, ἀλλ' ᾗ ποδῶν ἔχεις λάθρα διαναστάς, ἄψαι τῆς πρὸς αἰγιαλὸν φερούσης, συνέριθον ἔχων κἀμέ. πλοίῳ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε περιτυχών, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀφίξῃ, καὶ ὄψει κἀμὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοί, μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι σοι ὑφορώμενος. ἔξεις γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐμὲ τὴν πορείαν ἐξομαλίζοντά σοι μάλα καλῶς, καὶ ἀοράτως συνόντα σοι".

69. ταῦθ' ὡς ἀνείθη τοῦ ὕπνου ἀναπολῶν κατὰ νοῦν, τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημείῳ φραξάμενος καὶ τὸ "ἅγιε Ἀθανάσιε, βοήθει μοι" ἐπειπών, ἥψατο τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μετ' εὐμαρείας ὅσης ἂν εἴπῃς ταύτην ἀνύει παννύχιον ἐπαγρυπνῶν, καὶ ἀγρυπνότερος δρακόντων, [fol. 198^{r}] τὸ τοῦ λόγου, γενόμενος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀηδόνειον εἶχεν ἀπονυστάζειν. κάτεισι πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ ἀκατίου προσεπιβάς, καταπλεῖ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον. πρόσεισι τῷ ἱερῷ τεμένει τῷ θήκην τὴν πολύπλουτον ἔχοντι, προσπίπτει ταύτῃ, λούει τοῖς δάκρυσι, δοξολογεῖ ὡς ἠδύνατο, ὡς εἶχεν εὐχαριστεῖ, ἀναδιδάσκει τοῖς παροῦσι πάντα σαφῶς, εἶθ', ὡς οὐκ εἶχέ τι προσενεγκεῖν τῇ μονῇ δεῖγμα τῆς καρδιακῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ (τί γὰρ ἂν εἶχεν ἄνθρωπος ἄρτι τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνασωθείς;), ὅλον αὐτὸν προσάγει Θεῷ καὶ τῷ ῥυσαμένῳ τοῦτον τῆς πικρᾶς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας, ὡς δυναμένῳ καὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ παθῶν αἰχ-

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22 locum non inveni || 23-24 cf. Appendix Proverbiorum IV, 41; Mac. VI, 69; et Apostol. XIII, 52 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, I, 443 et II, 197, 589); Kock, *Comic. graec. frag.*, I, 773-74; *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 7; *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Adler, I^{1}, 63.

25 καταπλεῖ coni. ed. κατα.... C.

decorously garbed as a nun, but also before when she wandered in an unseemly fashion through the streets and alleys, leaping about in a wild and frenzied manner.

68. When this news reached her husband, who was a captive and confined in prison as my oration has just described, he, too, began to call on the great man for help. And he who was swift to succour, like an imitator of Christ, appeared to him in a dream and instructed him to obtain safe deliverance easily through surreptitious flight, saying, "Fear not, my man, fear not. Do you know who I am?" When he replied in the affirmative, again «Athanasios» said, "Fear not, but leave secretly as quickly as you can; take the road which leads to the coast with myself as your helper. For there you will find a boat, and then come to me, and you will see me and my disciples, and don't worry that there will be any obstacle in your path. For, as I said, you will have me to smooth your way and to be your unseen companion."

69. When he awoke, he turned these things over in his mind; and after fortifying himself with the sign of the cross and saying, "Holy Athanasios, help me," he started upon his journey and accomplished it as easily as you could imagine, staying awake all night long and remaining "more watchful than snakes," as the saying goes; nor "did he even doze like a nightingale." He went down to the coast and, after boarding a small boat, sailed to Byzantium. He went to the holy sanctuary which contains the precious sarcophagus, fell down before it, bathed it with his tears, praised it as best he could, gave thanks to the best of his ability, and told the whole tale clearly to those present; and then, since he did not have any token of his heart-felt love to offer to the monastery (for what would a man have who had just escaped from captivity?), he offered his entire self to God and to «Athanasios» who had rescued him from that bitter captivity, as one who could easily deliver peo-

μαλωσίας ῥᾳδίως ῥύσασθαι. καὶ κειράμενος κατὰ μοναχούς, συναριθμεῖται τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ τούτων χορείᾳ, καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁρώμενος καὶ ἀνακηρύττων τὸ θαῦμα πρὸς τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου μονῇ, διαπρέπων ἐν ὑποταγῇ καὶ καθαρῶς ἐξυπηρετούμενος.

70. ἀλλὰ πῶς ἄν τις τὰ ἐκείνου λέγειν φιλοτιμούμενος, μὴ καὶ ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν δόξειεν, ὃς οὐδὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν παύεται ἢ παύσεται [fol. 198^{v}] τὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐνεργῶν φιλανθρώπως, ἅτε φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ μαθητής τε καὶ μιμητής, καὶ ποταμῶν ἀεννάους ῥοὰς μιμούμενος; ὀλίγα δέ τινα δεῖγμα τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς Θεὸν θεραπείας ἀπολαβόντες εἰρήκαμεν, ἐ κ τ ο ῦ γ ε ύ μ α τ ο ς, ὅ φασι, τὸ πᾶν παριστῶντες. ταῦτά σοι, πατὲρ θεοειδέστατε, τὰ τῶν λόγων παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτέτισται χαριστήρια· ταῦτά σοι τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς πρός σε πάθους καὶ τῶν σφοδρῶν ἐρώτων παρέχομαι δείγματα. τοιούτοις μικροῖς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινοῖς δωροφορήμασιν ἀντεισάγω τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ταῖς ἀφθονωτάταις σου χάρισιν. αὐτὸς δέ μοι ἄνωθεν εἶης προστάτης τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ζωῆς, πανίερε Ἀθανάσιε. καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου πόνου, οὗ περὶ τὸν σὸν ἐθέμεθα πρότερον βίον τοὺς σοὺς συντάττοντες πόνους, νῦν δὲ περὶ τὰ παρά σου τελούμενα θαύματα, ἧττω μὲν τοῦ σου ἀξιώματος καὶ τοῦ μέτρου, πλὴν οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἧττω δυνάμεως, εὕροιμεν παρὰ σοῦ τοὺς μισθούς, οὐ πρὸς τὴν εὐτέλειαν οὗ προσηγάγομεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἀξίωμα μετρουμένους. [fol. 199^{r}]

71. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο πάντως, εἰ ταῖς σαῖς πρεσβείαις, ταῖς σαῖς ὁδηγίαις, ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἑβδοματικῇ καὶ λυομένῃ ζωῇ, συνείης μοι τὸν βίον συνδιϊθύνων, καὶ ἄνωθεν προστατεύων, πᾶσαν ἀχλυώδη καὶ σκοτεινὴν σαρκικῶν παθημάτων ἐπαγωγὴν διωθούμενος ἢ μηδὲ συγχωρῶν ἐπελθεῖν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέλλουσαν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον αἰῶνα, τὴν μὴ θανάτῳ τεμνομένην ἢ λυομένην, τῆς οὐρανῶν βασι-

6-19 *Vita Lucae*, 61 || 12 cf. Mac. III, 66, 95 et Mant. Prov. I, 52 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *CPG*, II, 162, 165, 753) || 20-28 *Vita Lucae*, 62.

11 num lege δείγματα? cf. *Vita Lucae*, 61 || 11-12 ἀπολαυόντες (male) *Vita Lucae* 61-62.

ple from the captivity of both evil spirits and suffering. And after receiving the tonsure of a monk, he was numbered in their most holy company; and now he can be seen at the monastery of the great man, proclaiming the miracle, conspicuous for his obedience and serving in a pure manner.

70. But anyone who aspired to relate the deeds of that man would seem to attempt the impossible, since even now «Athanasios» does not and will not cease to work miracles through his love for mankind, imitating the everlasting streams of rivers. I have chosen to relate a few «miracles» as an example of his service to God, representing the whole by the proverbial "«first» taste." O most god-like father, this oration of mine is in payment for my debt of thanks to you; I offer to you these examples of the passionate yearning of my soul and my great love for you. With such very small and humble gifts I bring you the gratitude of my soul for your abundant favors. May you be the heavenly protector of my mode of living and life, all-holy Athanasios. This small offering which I wrote previously about your life, telling of your labors and now about the miracles which you have accomplished, is less than your worth and due measure, but not less than my capability. In return, may I receive from you a reward measured not in proportion to the poor quality of my offering, but in proportion to your own worth.

71. And this will surely be so, if you accompany me, steering my way of life, through your intercessions, through your guidance in this earthly and ephemeral life, and if you are my heavenly protector, thrusting away every gloomy and dark enticement of fleshly passions, or not even permitting them to befall me. And in the future, the same and first age of eternity, which is not severed or dissolved by death, may you deem me worthy of the kingdom

λείας καταξιώσαις, ἀξίως τε τοῦ πόθου παρὰ σοὶ δεχθείην, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χοός μοι προσαπομορχθεῖσαν κακίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀποπλυνάμενος, καὶ μηδὲν ἴχνος ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῶν προπατορικῶν μωλώπων ἐπιφερόμενος· ὃ καὶ ἐμοὶ γένοιτο, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σὲ βοηθὸν ἐπικαλουμένοις, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶς ὕμνος καὶ πᾶσα προσκύνησις καὶ τιμή, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

4-6, 8-9 *Vita Lucae*, 62.

of heaven; and may I be received by you worthily on account of my love after I have washed away the dust of wickedness which has rubbed off on me in this world and bear not a trace of the bruises of my forefathers; may this be my lot, and that of all those who call upon you to help them in «the name of» Christ Jesus our Lord, to Whom is due every hymn and veneration and honor, together with the eternal and consubstantial Father and the all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and forever and unto ages of ages. Amen.

COMMENTARY

44, 4 εὐλόγησον πάτερ: This formula indicates that the reader is asking for the blessing of the presiding priest. The phrase is usually found at the beginning of manuscripts which were used for monastic or liturgical readings.

44, 5-6 τῆς πανηγύρεως ταυτησί: This oration was read aloud in two instalments (cf. marginal note on fol. 187^{v}) on August 23, the anniversary of the translation of Athanasios' relics.

44, 19 σελαγημάτων: σελάγημα is an unattested word.

46, 18-20 πρότριτα...διεξελθών: An allusion to the *Vita* or *Encomium* composed by Theoktistos and also preserved in *Chalke* 64.

46, 28-29 σήμερον τὸ...σῶμα: Theoktistos is delivering his oration on the anniversary of the translation of the relics of Athanasios, when they were probably removed temporarily from the church of Christ the Savior and carried in solemn procession.

46, 29-30 ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ μονῆς: The double monastery founded by Athanasios on the hill of Xerolophos; cf. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* I:3, 10-11.

46, 31-32 ἀπὸ μεσαιτάτης περιωπῆς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης: For another example of περιωπή as a descriptive attribute of Constantinople, see "Concilium Constantinopolitanum annis 680 et 681, oecumenicum sextum, oratio ad imperatorem," ed. J. Hardouin, *Acta*

Conciliorum (Paris, 1714), 1424D: εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών, τῆς οἰκουμένης περιωπὴ καὶ βασίλεια.

46, 35-48, 1 προτίθησι τράπεζαν...καὶ συνεστιᾷ: The symbolism of the banquet, which recurs frequently in the *Logos* (chs.49, 55, 70) is derived from the earlier tradition of the funerary banquet which was celebrated on the anniversary of a saint's death at his tomb; cf. H. Delehaye, *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité* [=*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 17] (Brussels, 1927), 135 ff.

48, 22-24 τῆς...διαβάσεως...προκάλυμμα: Cf. Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua* (*PG* 91: 1124B): τὴν ὕλην διαπεράσας, ὡς προκάλυμμα τῆς...τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ διαβάσεως, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ νέφος τὸ ἐπισκοτοῦν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τῶν αὐτῆς παθημάτων...

48, 25-26 τοῦ θρυλουμένου Πλωτίνου: Neoplatonic philosopher of the third century A.D.

48, 26-27 τὸ θνητὸν περισκήνιον: This term does not seem to be a direct quotation from Plotinos, but a paraphrase of his Platonic view of the body as the prison of the human soul; cf. *Ennead* IV,8,3: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ψυχῆς, ἣν ἐν σώματι πάντα λέγεται κακοπαθεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν, ἐν ἀνίαις, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις, καὶ φόβοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς γιγνομένη, ᾗ καὶ δεσμὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τάφος, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτῇ σπήλαιον καὶ ἄντρον. The phrase is found in a letter of Theophylact Simocatta (ep. 25, ed. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci,* 770). Περισκήνιον is an unusual word, listed in Liddell-Scott only in the plural, meaning 'balustrade,' and in Lampe, also in the plural, with the meaning of 'tents'. Theoktistos is apparently using the word as a synonym for the much more common σκῆνος, meaning 'tent,' or 'temporary habitation,' which is frequently used by Christian writers to describe the human body as the temporary home of the soul; cf. Lampe, s.v.. Cf.

Vita S. Theodorae Thessalonicensis, ed. E. Kurtz (*Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich* [St. Petersburg, 1902]), 24, ll.34-35: αὐτὴ ἡ βραχυτάτη τοῦ γεώδους σκήνους ἀσθένεια. See also V. van de Vorst, "La Translation de S. Théodore Studite," *AnalBoll* 32 (1913), 53: λύεται μὲν τοῦ σκήνους.... Cf. also the term σκήνωμα in *Logos*, p. 58, l.6.

48, 32-50, 2 τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας...ἀνάγραπτα κεῖνται: Athanasios' bitter controversy with monks and clergy and two resignations from the patriarchate are described in Theoktistos' *Vita Athanasii*, 27-30, 37-41.

52, 26 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνύχων: If this expression means 'from childhood,' as is implied by the context, it seems to be a variant of the usual ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων; cf., e.g., *Logos*, ch.62. ἐξ ὀνύχων is attested with the meaning of 'deeply'; Lampe, s.v. ὄνυξ.

52, 28 τὸν Δαβιτικὸν ὅρον: Cf. Ps. 89:10, 11: αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἐτῶν ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐν δυναστείαις, ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν κόπος καὶ πόνος. The phrase πέραν τῶν Δαυιτικῶν ὅρων, a quotation from Gregory of Nazianzos' *Funeral Oration for His Father* (*PG* 35: 1036C-1037A), is also found in the *Theoctisti Vita Ath.,* 48.

56, 3-6 κληματίσι μὲν...καταρρύτῳ: A document of 1383 mentions vineyards on the grounds of the monastery of Athanasios: τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ...μοναστηρίου ἀμπέλια (MM, II, 82).

56, 21-22 ἀψῖδα περὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεγεῖραί τινα: ἀψίς usually has the meaning of 'arch' or 'vault' in Byzantine Greek; cf. Liddell-Scott, s.v. 5, G. Downey, "On Some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 77 (1946), 28, and I. Ševčenko, "Notes on Ste-

phen the Novgorodian Pilgrim to Constantinople in the XIV Century," *Südost-Forschungen* 12 (1953), fn. 22. Cyril Mango (in a letter of November 20, 1979) suggested that the term might here refer to an arcosolium type of burial, although he does not know of any such free-standing structures. The text indicates that the ἀψίς was not attached to the monastic church, but stood in an open space.

Perhaps here the ἀψίς refers to a type of baldachin, such as is illustrated in the Madrid Skylitzes miniature of the monastery of Saint Diomedes in Constantinople; cf. S. C. Estopañan, *Skyllitzes Matritensis. Tomo I. Reproducciones y Miniaturas* (Barcelona-Madrid, 1965), fig. 209, p. 293. (I am indebted to Ihor Ševčenko for this reference.) Ἀψίς with the meaning of 'canopy' is also found in a canon to the Virgin by the monk Theosteriktos, where he speaks of the Lord as οὐρανίας ἀψῖδος...δομῆτορ; cf. Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη (Rome, 1885), 737.

56, 32-58, 3 τὸ...Ἀθανασίου σῶμα...τῷ κιβωτίῳ κατέθεσαν: Theoktistos neglects to record that the sarcophagus was placed in the monastic church dedicated to Christ the Savior, but this is made clear by passages in the *akolouthia* of Ignatios and in the *Vita Athanasii*; cf. *Introduction*, p. 15 and fn. 16.

62, 17 τὸν ἄϋλον...βίον: For Athanasios' asceticism, cf. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 4-6; *Calotheti Vita Ath.*, 457-60, 464-65; Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 140.

62, 20-21 τὸ τοῦ νοῦ κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν: For the Neoplatonic hierarchy of νοῦς over ψυχή, cf. Plotinos, *Enneads*, V.1.3.

62, 26-27 κἀν τῇ ἑβδοματικῇ...ζωῇ πρὸς τὴν ὀγδόην ἀποβλέπειν διαγωγήν: Christian writers frequently oppose the concept of 'weekly' or 'earthly' to 'heavenly' which belongs to the eighth day; cf. Lampe, s.v. ἑβδοματικός, 2.b and ὄγδοος, 1.

64, 22 Στασικράτης: An architect who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

64, 31-32 ὀφθαλμὸς ἡμέρας: I have not been able to trace the source for this description of the sun. However, Pindar speaks of the moon as the ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμός (*Olympian Odes*, 3.20), and Aeschylos calls it the νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός (*Seven Against Thebes*, 390).

66, 26-28 τοὺς σοὺς λόγους εἰδοποιηθέντας...τὸ ὑποκείμενον: Theoktistos seems to be proposing the paradox that in the case of Athanasios the formulas of Aristotle (λόγοι) are given form (εἶδος)—as if they were matter (ὕλη)—by the πράγματα, the actions of the patriarch, although Aristotle normally maintains that "formula is form"; cf. *Logos*, ch.46.

68, 10 Ἰλισσόν: A small stream which flows past Athens; its shady banks were the locale of the dialogue between Phaedros and Socrates on the immortality of the soul and the nature of love.

68, 14 ἐῶ θάτερον: Theoktistos is here alluding to a passage in Plato's *Phaedo*, the dialogue which describes Socrates' final conversation with his friends on death and the immortality of the soul. Socrates argues that the true philosopher should have no fear of dying, but should indeed welcome death as a release from earthly distractions. Socrates stated that philosophy is the study of death, μελέτη θανάτου (*Phaedo* 81a); cf. *Logos*, ch.6. Theoktistos combines this with an earlier passage (67c-d) that describes purification as the separation of soul from body, and defines true philosophers as always seeking this release of the soul (κάθαρσις δὲ εἶναι ἆρα... τὸ χωρίζειν ὅ τι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχήν...οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε θάνατος ὀνομάζεται, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος,...λύειν δέ γε αὐτὴν...προθυμοῦνται ἀεὶ μάλιστα καὶ μόνοι οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ὀρθῶς, καὶ τὸ μελέτημα αὐτὸ τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος...).

68, 21 τὸ ἕτερον: The *Theaetetus* of Plato, in which he seeks to define knowledge. In the famous passage to which Theoktistos alludes, Socrates argues that the philosopher escapes the evil inherent in human nature by flying away to heaven and becoming like God as much as possible.

68, 22-23 Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ὁμοιοῦσθαι: The Platonic definition of philosophy (from the *Theaetetus*) as man's "becoming like God to the best of his ability" was cited frequently by ancient, early Christian, and Byzantine writers; cf. I. Ševčenko, "The Definition of Philosophy in the *Life of St. Constantine*," *For Roman Jakobson* (The Hague, 1956), 451-52. For use of this definition in another 14th-c. Byzantine saint's life, see the *Vita* of the emperor John Batatzes, ed. A. Heisenberg, *BZ* 15 (1905), 219.

As Ševčenko pointed out in his article (pp. 453-54), the Platonic definition was included in the standard six definitions of philosophy of three Byzantine textbooks, the commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry by Ammonios Junior (late 5th c.), Elias (6th c.) and David (6th-7th c.). David combined the Platonic definition with the Stoic definition of philosophy (φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ γνῶσις θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων) to form a "more perfect" definition (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XVIII, 2 [1904], 18, 6-11). Theoktistos alludes to the same combined definition by his reference to Stoic thought at the end of ch.18, 31-33, καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, καλῶς μὲν τὰ εἰς Θεὸν δηλαδή, καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς ἀνθρώπους διαπραττόμενον καὶ γινώσκοντα. For another 14th-c. parallel, cf. *Patm. gr.* 366 (fol. 375^{r}), where Philotheos of Selymbria puts both definitions in the mouth of Nikephoros Gregoras. (I am indebted to Ihor Ševčenko for this reference.)

70, 21-22 τοὺς ἐν θλίψει παρεμυθήσατο...τοῖς ἐν πενίᾳ ἐπήρκεσε: For Athanasios' charitable activities, cf. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 34-35; *Calotheti Vita Ath.*, 496-97;

Athanasios, *Ep.* 78, ed. Talbot, pp. 194-96; Athanasios, unpublished *didaskalia* of ca. 1306-07 (*Vat. Gr.* 2219, fol. 166^{v}-167^{v} = Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1632).

70, 29 λίθος συνδέτης: For Christ as the stone that binds together, cf. Lampe, s.v. λίθος.

72, 1-2 ἔστησε...χρυσῆ πλάτανος: Aelian, in his *Varia Historia*, 2.14 (ed. Hercher, 25), recounts that Xerxes was so struck by the magnificence of an enormous plane tree that he bedecked it with robes and jewelry!

72, 2-3 ποταμὸς Μῆδος...ἔκπληξιν: Herodotos (Book I, 189) tells of Cyrus' vengeance on the river Gyndes, a tributary of the Tigris, after one of his sacred white horses was drowned in its turbulent waters.

72, 3-6 ἐπέσχε...φθεγγόμενος: The two great statues at the Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes were called the "Colossi of Memnon," named after the mythical king of Ethiopia who was supposed to have erected several large stelae along his route to Troy. The northern statue or "singing Memnon" was heard to produce sounds on certain days at sunrise.

72, 17-21 τίνι μηδὲν...φύσιν τηρεῖσθαι: For the asceticism of Athanasios, see the commentary on ch.14, 17, *supra.*

74, 12-14 τοσούτων γάρ...ταπεινότερος: Translated literally, "he has been shown to be superior in virtue to as many men as was the number of those than whom he has been humbler."

74, 18-21 εἰ γάρ τις τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βίον...εἰκόνα...ὀνομάσειεν: Cf. the iconoclastic view that the true icon was the life of the saint; Milton Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8 (1954), 151-60.

76, 27-28 περὶ τῶν ἔτι ζῶντος γεγενημένων διαλαβόντες: Theoktistos recounted some of the miracles which occurred during Athanasios' lifetime in the *Vita Ath.*, 41-44.

78, 2-3 τοῦ Μελετίου...ᾧ Ποτηρᾶς τὸ ἐπώνυμον: This family name is not otherwise attested.

78, 9 Μήδειαν: A town on the Black Sea coast in eastern Thrace, east of Adrianople (=present-day Midye); seat of archbishop during Byzantine Empire.

78, 18-19 τὸ ἱερὸν ἵνα ἡ πολύπλουτος σορὸς Ἀθανασίου κατάκειται: As noted above in commentary on ch.10, Theoktistos' *Logos* never specifically describes the final resting place of Athanasios' relics; it must, however, have been in the church of Christ the Savior at the monastery of Athanasios on Xerolophos; cf. *Vita Ath.*, 48.

78, 25 ἐκ Γαλαταρίων: The village of Galataria (=present-day Kalatarya) is near Constantinople on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 446.

78, 26 Βατάτζης: a common family name in the late Byzantine period; cf. *PLP*, nos. 2511-2522.

78, 33 ὁ Βλαγγηνὸς Ἰωάννης: The family name of Βλαγγηνός is not recorded in the *PLP*. The name is most likely derived from the Blanga quarter of Constantinople; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 325.

80, 10 Ἱερόν: A port on the eastern coast of the Bosphoros, north of present-day Anadolukavağı; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 485.

Γεώργιος ὁ Καλοκύρις: A variant of this family name, Καλοκύρης, is attested in 1336 in a document from Rhodes; cf. I. Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Athens, 1890), 115.

80, 22 τὴν εἰκόνα: See *Introduction*, pp. 25-27, for discussion of the image of Athanasios which was painted soon after his death.

82, 8 τὸν ἱερέα Θεόδωρον: This priest from Kartalimen is otherwise unknown.

82, 12 Καρταλιμή: Port in Bithynia, on northern shore of

Sea of Marmara (=present-day Kartal); cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 499-500.

82, 15-16 ἰατροῖς οὖν καὶ οὗτος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας...: The high fees of physicians and their failure to cure medical problems is a *topos* in numerous *miracula*; cf., for example, *SS. Cyri et Ioannis Miracula*, *PG* 87³: 3577. For further discussion of the reputation of physicians for cupidity, see Halina Evert-Kappesowa, "The Social Rank of a Physician in the Early Byzantine Empire," *Byzance et les Slaves: Études de Civilisation* [=*Mélanges Ivan Dujčev*] (Paris, 1979), 145.

84, 4-5 τμῆμα ῥάκους βραχύτατον...: Burning a stolen fragment of the saint's garment and inhaling the fumes was a most unusual method of seeking a miraculous cure. Theoktistos cites one other instance, the case of Maria Phrangopoulina (ch.63). John Wortley, who is making a special study of relics in Constantinople before 1204, tells me he has encountered no other example of inhalation of fumes; See fn. 31 of *Introduction* for further discussion.

84, 12-13 ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκούτζη Μιχαήλ: Chalkoutzi seems to be a toponym, since the construction ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκούτζη is parallel with other toponyms in the *Logos*; cf. ch.44, 14, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Καρταλιμῆς παῖς τοῦ Βόθρου and ch.45, 22-23, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Βιζύης μοναχὸς Θεοδόσιος. The priest Michael from Chalkoutzi is not otherwise attested. The family name Χαλκούτζης is known from the 10th c. on, and there are several 13th- and 14th-c. examples; cf. *Actes du Chilandar*, ed. L. Petit and B. Korablev (St. Petersburg, 1911), no. 118, l.120, and Pachymeres, *Hist.*, I, 126.

84, 18 Μανουὴλ τὸν τοῦ Ῥαδαρίτου παῖδα: The *PLP* has no listing for the family name Ῥαδαρίτης, but does cite several 14th-c. examples of Ῥαδαΐτης; MM, I, 371 (1357); I, 496 (1368); II, 141 (1390).

84, 36 ἀπὸ τοῦ Κοσμιδίου: The Constantinopolitan mon-

astery of Kosmidion, located in present-day Eyüp, was founded, according to tradition, in the 5th c. and dedicated to SS. Kosmas and Damian. Still flourishing in the 14th c., it apparently survived until 1453; cf. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I:3, 286-89.

86, 35 τῆς κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Κρούλλης: The Bithynian village of Kroulla was destroyed by the Turks in the early 14th c., and its inhabitants were killed or enslaved; cf. Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 413. The nun Eugenia may have come to Constantinople as a refugee and entered a convent in the capital.

88, 3 ῥεῦμα: a bodily discharge; cf. Hippocrates, περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς, 18 and 19. For 14th-c. examples, cf. Philotheos, *Encomium Gregorii Palamae, PG* 151: 624D (where the ῥεῦμα also affected the eyes), 642A, 643B.

90, 6-8 Μαγδαληνὴ...θυγάτηρ δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπογραμματέων τινος: The imperial secretaries were a large group of clerks assigned to the emperor and his court; they might be dispatched on special military or diplomatic assignments; cf. the 12th-c. Kinnamos, *Historia*, 69, 146-47 (ὑπογραμματεῖς), and *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos*, tr. by Charles M. Brand (New York, 1976), 2. The term is not found in ps.-Kodinos, but may be the same as the γραμματικοί or νοτάριοι. See also F. Dölger-I. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII, 3, 1) (Munich, 1968), 59.

90, 8-9 Θεόδωρον...τὸν Γαβαλᾶν: Γαβαλᾶς was a common family name in late Byzantium (cf. *PLP*, 3290-313).

90, 22-23 ἡ τοῦ Δοκειανοῦ θυγάτηρ Εἰρήνη: Δοκειανός or its variant Δοκιανὸς was a common family name in the Palaiologan period; cf. *PLP*, 5560-78.

90, 35 ἡ τῆς Στουδιανῆς θυγάτηρ: *PLP* reports no other testimony of this name.

92, 3 ἡ Φακεωλοῦ Ἄννα: *PLP* reports no other example of this family name. The name Φακεωλᾶτος, however, does appear in the 14th c.; cf. the admiral Γεώργιος Φακεωλᾶτος, Kantakouzenos, *Hist.*, II, 599-601, and Gregoras, *Hist.*, II, 766 f., 773.

92, 31 Ξανθή, Ζωμᾶ δὲ αὕτη θυγάτηρ: The family name Ζωμᾶς and a variant Ζωμής are attested in the 14th c.; cf. *PLP*, III, 6647-52.

92, 31-32 Θεοδώρα...Ἀπλημελὲ καὶ αὕτη θυγάτηρ: Ἀπλημελέ is a variant of Ἀπελμενέ and Ἀπελμελέ, which is attested in the 14th c.; cf. *PLP*, I, 1151-57.

92, 33 τοῦ Ῥηγίου: Rhegion (= present-day Küçükçekmece) was a suburb of Constantinople just to the north of the shore of the Sea of Marmara; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 277 and Map VIII.

92, 34 Εὐφροσύνη παρθένος ἡ τοῦ Κατζαροῦ: *PLP* notes only one instance of the family name Κατζαρός in the 14th c.; cf. MM, VI, 253 (1331). There are numerous variants of the name, e.g. Κατζαρᾶς, Κατζάριος and Κατζαρώ.

92, 34-94, 1 ἡ τοῦ Κυπαρισσιώτου: Perhaps to be identified with the daughter of the famous anti-Palamite; cf. Kydones, *Epistulae*, ed. R. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès: correspondance* [= *Studi e testi*, 186, 208] (Vatican City, 1956-60), I, 67 and II, 62; Kalothetos, *Logoi*, ed. D.G. Tsames, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Παράρτημα 19 τοῦ ΙΘ΄ τόμου (Thessalonike, 1975), 104; reprinted in Tsames, Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα, 144.

94, 2-3 τὸν ἀπὸ Ξηρολόφου Μαντρομηνὸν Γεώργιον: The family name Μαντρομηνός is not otherwise attested. He was probably a monk from Athanasios' monastery located on the hill of Xerolophos, or a resident of the region of Xerolophos; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 439-40.

94, 12-13 τῆς μονῆς τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ μυροβλύτου Δημητρίου: The μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου τῶν Παλαιολόγων, a monastery founded in Constantinople in the 12th c. by George Palaiologos and restored after the Latin occupation by the emperor Michael VIII; cf. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I:3, 92-94.

94, 13 ὁ Σγουρόπουλος Ἰάκωβος: Σγουρόπουλος was a common family name in the 14th c.. *PLP* notes, however, only one Ἰάκωβος in 1400.

94, 14 ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Καρταλιμῆς παῖς τοῦ Βόθρου: For the port of Kartalimen, see commentary above on ch.31. *PLP* cites one example of the family name Βόθρος, no. 2927.

94, 14-15 ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος παῖς τοῦ Φλαμούλη: The name Φλαμούλης, or its variant, Φλαμούλιος, appears occasionally in Palaiologan sources; cf. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* [=CFHB, Series Vindobonensis, 12, 1-3] (Vienna, 1975-79), 222 f. (1413/14-16); G. Theocharides, "Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη Βυζαντινή". Ἀνέκδοτα Βατοπεδινὰ ἔγγραφα (Thessalonike, 1962), 25 (1326), 31 (1338). The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος probably refers to a monastery of Christ the Savior in Constantinople. The most likely candidate is ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ἀκαταλήπτου which was active in the 14th c.; cf. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I:3, 504-06.

94, 16 Εἰρήνη, Συναδηνὴ: For an account of the Synadenos family, see J. Juroukova, "Un sceau d'Irène Synadenos," *Byzantino-Bulgarica*, 4 (1973), 221-26. Individuals with the name of Irene Synadene are known from 11th-c. seals (*loc. cit.*) and from a synodal document of 1400 (MM, II, 393).

94, 22 ἀπὸ τῆς Βιζύης: Bizye, a town in eastern Thrace, ca. 130 km. northwest of Constantinople; seat of archbishop during Byzantine Empire; present-day Vize.

Cf. Savvas Ioannidis, Ἱστορία τῆς Βιζύης ἀνατολικῆς Θράκης (written in 1886), Ἑταιρεία Θρακικῶν μελετῶν, no. 33 (Athens, 1954); Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger," *Zbornik radova Vizantol. Inst.*, 11 (1968), 9-13.

94, 23 ἀπὸ τοῦ Συνηγόρου; I assume that Synegoros is a place name, since in the *Logos* the ἀπὸ τοῦ construction usually introduces a toponym; see commentary on ch.33, 12-13 above. It could possibly be the name of a monastery, since συνήγορος, in the sense of 'advocate, suppliant,' is sometimes used as an epithet of Christ; cf. Lampe, s.v. 2. No monastery of this name is listed, however, in Janin's two surveys of Byzantine monasteries.

94, 24 ὁ τοῦ πριμμικηρίου τῶν Βαράγγων παῖς: The *primmikerios* was an officer of the axe-bearing Varangians, who in the 14th c. served as an imperial bodyguard; cf. Ps.-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. Verpeaux (Brussels, 1967), 179-80, 209-10, 216, 243, 264; Kantakouzenos, *Hist.*, 389. After the 12th c. the Varangians were English rather than Scandinavian. The most recent discussion of the Varangians in the later Byzantine Empire is found in Sigfús Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1978), 167-192.

96, 5-6 ὁ τεχνίτης λόγος: This phrase represents a conflation of Neoplatonic and Christian concepts of the 'creative force.' For the Neoplatonic usage, cf. Proclus, *In rem publicam* (ed. Kroll), I, 142, 16; for Christian authors, cf. Gregory Naz., *or.* 7.23 (*PG* 35: 788B) and Theodore Metochites, *Logos* 13, ch.10, l.7, ed. I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), 199 (and 73 and n.2). Church fathers emphasized the distinction between God as creator *ex nihilo* and as the τεχνίτης who employed pre-existing matter; cf. Lampe, s.v. τεχνίτης, 3.

96, 10-13 τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων...εἰδοποιήσεως: Underlying this passage is the Aristotelian theory of form (εἶδος) and matter (ὕλη); cf. *Logos*, ch.17.

96, 32-33 ὁ δὲ [sc. ἀὴρ] ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ φθείρεται, καὶ λοιμοὺς φέρει: In his περὶ φυσῶν, 5-6 (ed. Littré, VI, 96-98), Hippocrates theorizes that air is the cause of disease and, specifically, of the plague; cf. also περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου, 9 (ed. Littré, VI, 52, 54).

98, 27-28 ἀγροικικῶς οὕτω πως καλούμενον ἀπόστημα: Actually the term is found in the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates (7.36).

98, 28-29 ὁ τοῦ Μαγγαφᾶ Ἰακώβου υἱὸς Μανουήλ: The family name Μαγγαφᾶς is encountered frequently in the 14th c., especially in the variant form Μαγκαφᾶς; cf., for example, Kantakouzenos, *Hist.*, II, 526 (ca. 1345); MM, I, 482, 531.

98, 30 ἡ τοῦ Βρανᾶ...Εὐφροσύνη: For references to the Branas family in the Palaiologan period, see *PLP*, nos. 3149-82.

98, 35 ὁ τοῦ Σκυθογενοῦς Ἰωάννου ἀμπελουργός: I have found no other instance of the family name Σκυθογενής. It may be a nickname, meaning 'of Tartar origin.'

100, 31 τοῦ μοναχοῦ Θεολήπτου: The monk Theoleptos, who evidently belonged to the monastery of Athanasios on Xerolophos, is otherwise unknown. He was probably sent to Lesbos on business relating to the monastery's estate on the island; see *infra*.

100, 35 τῇ Λέσβῳ: The monastery of Athanasios owned estates on Lesbos; cf. patriarchal act of 1383 (MM, II, 83) which mentions τὸ ἐν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ κτῆμα among the monastic properties. In 1331 a patriarchal act mentions a μονὴ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀθανασίου on Lesbos (Darrouzès, *Regestes* V, no. 2164); this might be a metochion of the monastery on Xerolophos. In the first half of the 14th c. Lesbos was still

under Byzantine control, although subject to attack by the Genoese from Phokaia; cf. P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris, 1957), 59, n. 2, 108-09.

102, 18 ἡ σιγὴ πανταχοῦ ἀνυπεύθυνον: The word ἀνυπεύθυνος is attested three times in Plato, but this citation is not found in his writings and is probably a quotation from a Neoplatonic source.

Note the use of the neuter form for the predicate adjective; this is permissible in Greek when the masculine or feminine noun denotes a class; cf. W.W. Goodwin and C.B. Gulick, *Greek Grammar* (Boston, 1930), ch.921.

102, 31-32 ἐνδιασκεύως: For this rhetorical term, cf. Hermogenes, *de inv.* 2.7 (ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera* [Leipzig, 1913]), 122-23, and John Doxapatres, εἰς τὸ Περὶ εὑρέσεως Ἑρμογένους (ed. H. Rabe, *Prolegomenon Sylloge* [Leipzig, 1931]), 362.

104, 13 προσαλπιστὰ: a variant of the rarely attested word προσσαλπιστός; cf. Demetrakos, Μέγα λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης (Athens, 1933-51), s.v.

104, 27-28 Μανουὴλ...Βουρδῆς: Βουρδῆς is an attested family name in the Palaiologan period; cf., for example, R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci,* III (Vatican City, 1950), 402; C. Wendel, "Planudea," *BZ* 40 (1940), 406-10.

104, 28 τὴν ἠϊόνα τῶν Κυνηγῶν: οἱ Κυνηγοί was a quarter of Constantinople on the Golden Horn, east of Blachernae; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 377.

104, 30-31 τῇ τῶν...χυμῶν ἀναθυμιάσει: cf. Galen, *De Usu Partium*, 11.14, ed. G. Helmreich (Leipzig, 1907-09).

104, 32-33 ἐκ μελαίνης χολῆς: This passage reflects the humoral theory of Hippocrates, which prevailed in the Byzantine period. It was believed that illness would result if there was an imbalance in the four

humors present in the human body—blood, black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm; cf. Galen, *De atra bile* (ed. C.G. Kühn, *Medicorum Graecorum Opera Quae Exstant*, V (Leipzig, 1823), 120-21. See also Plato, *Timaeus*, 83c and 85a ff.

106, 4-11 ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐν ὕπνῳ...ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός: Many ancient and Christian authors expressed the belief that during sleep the soul did not rest, but was free to wander about; cf. Pindar, fr. 131 (Loeb ed., p. 590), which is cited in Plutarch's *Moralia* 120D and his *Romulus* 28.6, and Tertullian, *De Anima*, 43 and 45 (*PLZ*: 765-71). The prophetic quality of the soul, when it is free of the sleeping body, is alluded to by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*, 8.7.21 (ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ).

For Christian authors' views on the soul and dreams, see Nemesius, *de natura hominis*, ed. C.F. Matthaei (Halle, 1802; Hildesheim, 1967), 131, 6-133, 2, and Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* II, cap. IX, 82, 1-3 (ed. O. Stählin, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller,* XII, 207).

106, 31 Ἡρακλέα: This seems to be an instance of 'mythological muddling' on the part of Theoktistos. One of the labors of Herakles was to fetch the golden apples which Hera had received from Gē at her wedding; they were not in the garden of Alcinous, however, but in the garden of the Hesperides.

106, 31 τὰ τε Δελφικὰ παίγνια: According to late classical authors such as Lucian (*Anacharsis*, 9), Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists*, III, 20) and Maximus of Tyre (*Dissertationes*, V.8 and VIII.4), apples were handed out as prizes at the Pythian Games; see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Apfel, col. 2705.

The use of the derisive term παίγνια corresponds with ὕθλος in the same sentence.

106, 31-32 ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν τοῦ Πάριδος ὕθλος ἐπὶ τῷ μήλῳ:

Eris, who was not invited to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, tossed among the wedding guests a golden apple 'for the fairest.' When Hera, Aphrodite, and Athena began to quarrel over the apple, Zeus asked the young Trojan prince Paris, who was working as a shepherd on Mt. Ida, to choose 'the fairest.' He selected Aphrodite, thus incurring the enmity of Hera and Athena.

Early classical allusions to the tale such as Homer, *Iliad*, XXIV, 25-30, *Cypria* 1 (Loeb ed., 488-90), and Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, 1298-1309, do not mention the apple. Indeed, according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. Eris, there is no written pre-Alexandrian authority for the 'apple of Discord.' The tradition of the golden apple appears in literary sources of late antiquity such as Lucian (2nd c. A.D.), *dial. marit.* 5 (Loeb ed., VII, 202-04) and Kollouthos (5th-6th c. A.D.), ἁρπαγὴ Ἑλένης, 41-192 (ed. A.W. Mair, Loeb ed., 544-56).

108, 17 γύγαρθον φυσᾶν: This proverb is usually found in the form γύργαθον φυσᾶν (e.g. Diogen. II, 21; Aristaenetus [ed. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*], 2.20), with the meaning 'to labor in vain'. Liddell-Scott defines γύργαθος as 'wicker-basket' and prefers the accentuation γυργαθός (following Herodian 1.145.24-25), but notes that in manuscripts the word is accented γύργαθος. The word can also mean a type of cage, or bed with bars, used to confine insane or palsied patients; cf. *Suidae Lexicon* (ed. Adler), 1.1.549.10-11.

The form γύγαρθος is found only in Apostolius V.70 (*CPG*, II, 353), who adds that γύγαρθος σημαίνει δὲ τὸ δίκτυον. He may, however, have erroneously assumed that γύγαρθος meant 'net,' on the parallel of other proverbs such as δίκτυον φυσᾷς (*Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Adler, 1.2.99.16-17) or δικτύῳ ἄνεμον θηρᾶν (Diogen. II, 40; *CPG*, II, 24).

108, 19 ἡ Θηβαία λύρα: An allusion to the Greek lyric poet

Pindar who spent most of his life in his native Thebes. On several occasions he expressed great confidence in the power of his lyrics; cf., for example, *Olympian Odes* 11.4-6 and *Nemean Odes* 4.4-12.

108, 20-22 τοῖς μὴ ἐῶσι σκεδάννυσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐπειγομένοις ταύτην συνάγειν ἐπιμελέστατα: It was a theory of the Neoplatonic philosophers that man, and indeed everything created, originated from a simple source by a process of dispersal or scattering; man should thus strive to 'collect himself' in order to return to his source. Cf., for example, Plotinos (5.3.8.31-32): ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σκίδνασθαι οὐκ εἴασεν..., and Eusebios, *De vitâ Constantini* 3.11 (*PG* 20: 1068A): συναγαγὼν αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν διάνοιαν.

108, 22 ὁ μὲν νοῦς φωτισθείη πρὸς Θεοῦ: The notion of illumination is probably derived from Plotinos (6.7. 17.36-37) who theorizes that the first member of the divine Triad, called the One or the Good, illuminates the second member, Nous.

108, 22-29 ἵν' οὕτω...λέγω δὴ τὸν νοῦν: This parenthetical passage represents a conflation of Neoplatonic and Christian thought. The distinction between the ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος and ὁ πνευματικός is found originally in 1 Cor. 2:14-15 and developed in various Early Christian Fathers; cf. Lampe, s.v. ψυχικός, B.1. The three elements of πνεῦμα (=νοῦς), ψυχή, and σῶμα (=σάρξ) derive ultimately from 1 Thess. 5:23 and are expanded in such authors as Gregory of Nazianzos (*carm.* 1.2.34.242 [*PG* 37: 963]); cf. Lampe, s.v. ψυχικός, B.6. See also Cyril of Alexandria (*PG* 68: 1100A-B): ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα πρὸς ἰδίαν ὥσπερ ποιότητα μεταστοιχειοῖ, and Olympiodorus of Alexandria, *In Ecclesiasten* (*PG* 93: 532 B-C): ἰστέον δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος λέγεται ἐκ τριῶν συνεστάναι, ψυχῆς, καὶ σώματος, καὶ πνεύματος.... Cf. also commentary on ch.14.

108, 26-27 οὐδὲ ψυχικός: For ψυχικός, meaning 'natural, carnal, material-minded' and presented in distinction to σαρκικός and πνευματικός, cf. Lampe, s.v. B.6.

110, 20 ἀπὸ κωμυδρίου τοῦ Σαμουήλ: I have found no 'village of Samuel' attested in the Byzantine sources, but there is a reference to τὸ βουνὸν τοῦ Σαμουήλ in an undated act of the Athonite monastery of Zographou; cf. *Actes de Zographou,* eds. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev (St. Petersburg, 1907), LIV, 151-52.

110, 21 Καλὴ ἡ τοῦ Βολεροῦ: *PLP* lists no family name of Βολερός, but does include the variant forms Βολέρης (2959) and Βολερηνός (2955-58). Perhaps the phrase should be translated as Kalē from the theme or area of Boleron.

110, 23-26 τῇ σήψει...τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς: Similar theories on the afflictions caused by black bile are found in a treatise by the physician John Aktouarios, who was a contemporary of Theoktistos; cf. *de diagnosi,* II (ed. J.L. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores*, II [Berlin, 1842]), pp. 422, 455-56, 460-61.

112, 15-16 Μαρία τὴν κλῆσιν, Φραγγοπουλίνα δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν: Many people by the name of Φραγγόπουλος are found in 14th-c. sources; cf., for example, Kantakouzenos, *Hist.*, II, 176, 557-59, and MM II, 151 (1391). See also V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines: I. Sceau de Nicolas Phrangopoulos," *EO* 30 (1931), 467-73.

112, 27-29 ῥάκους πανιέρου...ἐμφορηθεῖσα καπνοῦ: for this unusual method of seeking a miraculous cure, cf. commentary on ch.32, *supra.*

114, 6 τῇ Κατηνιτζίνῃ: No other testimony for this name.

114, 9-10 τῇ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον διακειμένῃ Προύσῃ: Prousa, a city in Bithynia, which fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1326, and became, for a while, the capital of the fledgling Turkish empire; present-day Bursa.

114, 10-13 οὐκ ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν ὑπώρειαν νήσου τῆς Βρεττανίας διακειμένῃ...τὸ εὐαγγέλιον: In this passage Theoktistos presents a mish-mash of erroneous information. First he gives the name of Prousa to the Prussians; then, apparently falling victim to the same confusion as Tacitus, he identifies the Prussians (or Prutheni) of the Baltic with the Britanni of Britain; cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, 45. Herodotos, whom Theoktistos cites as his source, is the earliest author to allude to the British Isles, not by that name, however, but as the "Tin Islands," νήσους Κασσιτερίδας (III, 115).

As for Theoktistos' statement that the Apostle Simon the Zealot is supposed to have preached the Gospel in Britain, this reflects a late Greek tradition; cf. *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. Simon Zealot, and the 14th-c. writer Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, who describes Simon as πρὸς ἑσπέριον ὠκεανὸν εἰσβαλών, καὶ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους εὐαγγελισάμενος (*PG* 145: 864c).

114, 18-20 ἐν ταύτῃ [sc. Προύσῃ]...ἐν ᾗ τὸν πρωτόκλητον Ἀνδρέαν λόγος αἱρεῖ διὰ Βιθυνίας ἀπὸ τῆς Νικαέων ἐρχόμενον ἁφίκεσθαι: Although Prousa is not specifically mentioned by name in the legendary accounts of the travels of Andrew, Ps.-Epiphanios' *Vita S. Andreae* does record that the Apostle crossed Mt. Olympos (in Bithynia) on his way to Nikaia (*PG* 120: 229B). For the complex problem of the real and legendary travels of St. Andrew, see F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (=*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, IV] (Cambridge, Ma., 1958).

114, 21-24 διαπλεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον...ἀναπλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀμινσόν: Theoktistos has heard the legend of the travels of Andrew in a different version from the *Vita S. Andreae* of Ps.-Epiphanios, who has Andrew go along the Black Sea coast to Amisos (=present-day Samsun) after he leaves Nikaia and

Nikomedia, then north to the Crimea, where he evangelized the Scythians, and then to Byzantium; cf. *PG* 120: 240C-244C.

114, 22-23 τὸν Στάχυν ἐν αὐτῷ χειροτονήσαντα: Cf. ps.-Epiphanios, *Vita S. Andreae, PG* 120: 244C.

114, 23-24 τῇ Θεοτόκῳ πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸν δειμάμενον: Cf. ps.-Epiphanios, *Vita S. Andreae, PG* 120: 244C, and Niketas of Paphlagonia, *In laudem s. Andreae, PG* 105: 68C. The church is not mentioned by Janin in his *Constantinople byzantine* or *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I.3.

116, 6 τὸν ἀμηρᾶν: The Ottoman sultan, Orhan (1323-59).

116, 30 Ἀθανασία κληθεῖσα: In normal practice, Katenitzina would have adopted a religious name beginning with K, but she chose the name Ἀθανασία because of her special gratitude to Athanasios.

APPENDIX A

Theoktistos the Stoudite, a Ninth- or Fourteenth-Century Hymnographer?

In 1890, George Papadopoulos included a short notice on Theoktistos the Stoudite in his Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς, described him as a disciple of Theodore of Stoudios, and assigned him to the early ninth century. Among the works of Theoktistos, he mentioned canons to the Virgin, Christ, Saint Nicholas and τὰς ἀΰλους καὶ ἐπουρανίους δυνάμεις.[1] He cited no source for the biographical data, however, and I suspect that he placed Theoktistos in the ninth century solely because of the epithet 'Stoudite.' His reasoning might have been as follows: hymnography flourished at the monastery of Stoudios in the ninth century;[2] many ninth-century hymnographers bear the epithet 'Stoudite'; Theoktistos was a Stoudite, therefore he must have lived in the ninth century. Egon Wellesz also listed Theoktistos as a ninth-century hymnographer in his *History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*,[3] probably following Papadopoulos.

Certainly the Theoktistos the Stoudite who wrote the *Vita* of

1. G. Papadopoulos, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς (Athens, 1890), 247-48. Papadopoulos does not cite the manuscripts in which these canons are preserved. I have found all of them except the one addressed to St. Nicholas; see list of works of Theoktistos in Appendix B. They are all in late Byzantine or post-Byzantine manuscripts.

2. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1949), 116, 199.

3. Cf. Wellesz, ibid., 344.

Athanasios and the *Logos* lived in the fourteenth century. He also composed a number of canons in honor of Athanasios and describes himself as a hymnographer.[4] To me it seems logical to assume that he was the same Theoktistos the Stoudite who composed several other prayers and canons, all of which are preserved in late manuscripts (none earlier than the fourteenth century).[5]

There are a number of similarities in vocabulary and phraseology between the works devoted to the memory of Athanasios (by the fourteenth-century Theoktistos) and the canons attributed to a ninth-century Theoktistos:

Ninth-century Theoktistos	**Fourteenth-century Theoktistos**
κανὼν ἱκετήριος εἰς τὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (ed. in Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη [Rome, 1885])	
p. 736 λάκκου κατωτάτου	*Logos,* p. 56, 4 ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ
p. 733 σὺ φωτισμός, Ἰησοῦ μου, νοός μου	*Logos,* p. 108, 22 ὁ μὲν νοῦς φωτισθείη πρὸς Θεοῦ
p. 733 θεοχαρίτωτε	canon to Athanasios, fol. 212^{r} θεοχαρίτωτε
p. 734 κάθαρον τοῦ ῥύπου με τῶν πταισμάτων	canon, fol. 207^{r} τὰ πρὶν πταίσματα παντελῶς ἐκκαθαίρων
p. 734, 735 εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεός, ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν	canon, fol. 201^{v} ὁ τῶν πατέρων Θεὸς εὐλογητός

fondness for stylistic device of *figura etymologica* (σχῆμα ἐτυμολογικόν).

p. 735 καθυποκύψας, Ἰησοῦ, ταῖς ἀλόγοις ἡδοναῖς, ἄλογος ὤφθην καὶ τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὄντως...ὅθεν, Ἰησοῦ, με τῆς ἀλογίας ῥῦσαι	canon to Athanasios, fol. 221^{r} Νόμοις τοῖς τοῦ πνεύματος ἀκολουθῶν νόμους ἀνομοῦντων ἐξέκλινας, ὡς ἀνομοῦντας διελέγχων ἀληθῶς νομοθε-

4. See list of canons in Appendix B; cf. *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, 1: τούτων [sc. saints] ἐνίους μὲν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς ὡς ἐνὸν κατεστέψαμεν...

5. See Appendix B for detailed list and dates of manuscripts.

τούντων, πρόκριτε

Logos, p. 62, 17-18 τίς οὕτω τὸν ἄϋλον ἐν ὑλικῷ...σώματι βίον ἐζήλωσε...;

Logos, p. 72, 14-15 τίς οὕτω δικαίως...ἐδίκασε...;

Theoctisti Vita Ath., 7 πᾶσαν ἄλλην διακονίαν γενναίως ὁ γενναῖος διακονήσας...

Theoctisti Vita Ath., 9 ἄσμενος ἀσμενῶς εἰσδέχεται

Theoctisti Vita Ath., 17 πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαίρων

I would therefore conclude that there is no basis for assigning any of the writings of Theoktistos to the ninth century, and that there was only one Byzantine hymnographer named Theoktistos the Stoudite, a Palamite monk of the fourteenth century.[6]

6. Theoktistos the Stoudite is not included in J. Szöverffy's list of "Kanon-writers and Hymnographers" in *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography, II. Κανών and Στιχηρόν* (Brookline, Ma., 1979), 7-77.

APPENDIX B

The Writings of Theoktistos the Stoudite

A. Works dedicated to the Patriarch Athanasios.

1. *Vita* (βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) [=*BHG*^{3} 194].

Inc. Ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν ἐτιμήθησαν...
Des. τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Mss.

a. *Iveron* 50, fols. 40^v-111^r (14th c.).
Edition based on this manuscript was published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Žitija dvuh Vselenskih patriarhov XIV v., svv. Afanasija I i Isidora I," in *Zapiski istoriko-filol. fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, 76 (1905), 1-51.

b. *Barberini* 583 (VI, 22), fols. 211-49 (15th c.).
Abridged edition based on this manuscript was published by H. Delehaye in "La Vie d'Athanase, Patriarche de Constantinople," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, 17 (1897), 39-75; reprinted in H. Delehaye, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* [=*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 42] (Brussels, 1966); 125-49.

c. *Const. Chalc. mon.* 64, fols. 39^r-106^r (14th c.).

d. *Iveron* 369, fols. 59^r-127^r (17th-c. copy of *Iveron* 50).

e. *Dionysiou* 3685 (17th c.).

2. *Encomium* (ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρ-

χην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν νέον) [=*BHG*³ 194a].

Inc. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ὁ λόγος ἀποδειλιᾷ...

Des. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Mss.

a. *Iveron* 50, fols. 112ʳ-132ᵛ (end of text lost during rebinding) (14th c.).

b. *Barberini* 583 (VI, 22), fols. 250-63 (15th c.).

c. *Const. Chalc. mon.* 64, fols. 107ʳ-133ʳ (14th c.).

d. *Iveron* 369, fols. 128ᵛ-152ʳ (17th c.).

3. *Synaxarion* (μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ κδ΄, μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Νέου).

Θανὼν, Ἀθανάσιε, ποιμὴν ποιμένων
παρίστασαι νῦν ἀθανάτῳ ποιμένι.
Εἰκάδι τῇ τετάρτῃ Ἀθανασίου ὅστ' ἐκάλυψαν.

Inc. οὗτος ἦν ἐξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως τῆς πρώην μὲν Ὀρεστιάδος ἐξ Ὀρέστου κληθείσης...

Des. πλεῖστα δὲ ἀρετῆς καταλιπὼν ὑπομνήματα· αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαις ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσοι καὶ σώσοι ἡμᾶς.

Mss.

a. *Iveron* 50, fols. 31ᵛ-34ᵛ.
Edition based on this manuscript was published in *Theoctisti Vita Ath.*, iv-vi.

b. *Const. Chalc. mon.* 64, fols. 29ᵛ-32ʳ.

4. *Logos* (λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) [=*BHG*³ 194f].

Inc. Εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν...

Des. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Mss.

Const. Chalc. mon. 64, fols. 157ʳ-199ʳ.
Ed. Talbot, *supra.*

5. *Canons* in honor of Athanasios.

Mss.

Const. Chalc. mon. 64.

199[rbis]-203[r] κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον τὸν νέον, πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος α΄.

Inc. Χριστὸν ποθῶν, Ἀθανάσιε, Χριστὸν ὑπερφυῶς ἀσπαζόμενος...

203[r]-208[r] κανὼν ἰαμβόκροτος ἢ χορίαμβρος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ΚΠ.—ἦχος β΄.

Inc. στείβει θαλάσσης τῶν παθῶν τὴν κακίαν...

208[r]-211[v] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος γ΄.

Inc. θείας ἀθανασίας πάτερ ὅσιε...

211[v]-216[r] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν μέγαν πατριάρχην ΚΠ., καὶ οὗτος ἰαμβόκροτος ἢ χορίαμβος διαφόροις μέτροις ἐνασμενίζων—ἦχος δ΄.

Inc. θείῳ καλυφθεὶς Ἀθανάσιος γνόφῳ...

216[r]-219[v] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος δ΄.

Inc. χοροὶ ἱερῶν ποιμένων ὁμοῦ...

220[r]-224[r] κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος δ΄.

Inc. Τὸν βίον μου ἴθυνον πρὸς ἀρετήν, Ἀθανάσιε...

224[v]-227[v] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος πλ. α΄.

Inc. Τῷ σωτῆρι Θεῷ παρεστηκὼς ἐν χαρᾷ...

227[v]-231[v] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος πλ. α΄.

Inc. Δεῦτε μοι συνελθόντες ὦ φιλεόρτων πληθύς...

231[v]-235[r] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος πλ. β΄.

Inc. Τὴν πανταιτίαν καὶ παρεκτικὴν ζωῆς τὴν ἄρρητον σοφίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ...

235[v]-239[r] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος βαρύς.

Inc. Ἄβυσσον οὐρανόθεν τὴν διὰ πλῆθος ἐλέους...

239[r]-241[v] ἕτερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον πατριάρχην ΚΠ.—ἦχος πλ. δ΄ (incomplete).

Inc. Σταυρῷ Χριστοῦ πεποιθὼς ἐκ νεότητος σου...

B. Miscellaneous works.

1. *Verses to Gregory Palamas.*

   Inc. Φύλαξ πεφυκὼς ἀκριβὴς τῶν δογμάτων...
   Des. δείκνυσι φρούδας καινὰς ὑθλοφωνίας.

   Ms.

   Ambros. gr. 457, fol. 41^{v}.
   Ed. by P. Chrestou, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα, II, 163.

2. ἀκολουθία νήψεως καὶ νίφεως.

   Inc. γλυκύτατε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς...

   Ms.

   Vat. gr. 778, fols. 1^{r}-2^{r} (14th c.).

3. εὐχὴ (στίχοι) εἰς τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν φύλακα τῆς ψυχῆς.

   Inc. τοῦ πρώτου φάους, ἄγγελε, δεύτερον φῶς τυγχάνων...
   Des. τῶν ἑορταζόντων τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν...

   Mss.

   a. *Xeropotamou* 204, fols. 366-369 (16th c.).

   b. *Laura* 529, fols. 170^{r} ff. (17th c.).

   c. *Xeropotamou* 252, fols. 73^{v} ff. (18th c.).

4. εὐχὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν.

   Inc. Κύριε, ὁ ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς...
   Des. ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν σὴν ἐπικουρίαν.

   Ms.

   Xeropotamou 204, fols. 307-21 (16th c.).

5. εὐχὴ ἐγκωμιαστικὴ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον

   Mss.

   a. *Laura* 1090, fol. 121^{r} (17th c.).

   b. *Iveron* 686 (17th c.).

   c. *Panteleimon* 803, p. 475 (17th c.).

6. *Miscellaneous* εὐχαί.

   Mss.

Xeropotamou 252, fol. 69^{r} (18th c.).

Iveron 535 (16th c.).

7. κανὼν παρακλητικὸς εἰς τὸν Πρόδρομον διὰ τοὺς θαλαττεύοντας οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς τρικυμίας Πρόδρομε πλέοντας ῥύου.

   Ms.

   Vatopedi 1001, fol. 1^{v} (14th c.).

8. κανὼν εἰς τὰς ἀΰλους καὶ ἐπουρανίους δυνάμεις, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς πληθύς με σῶσον ἀγγέλων ἀρχαγγέλων.

   Ms.

   Laura 1104, fol. 176^{r} (17th c.).

9. κανὼν παρακλητικὸς εἰς Χριστὸν.

   Inc. Ἰησοῦ γλυκύτατε Χριστέ.

   Mss.

   a. *Vat. gr.* 721, fols. 147^{r}-150^{r} (14th-15th c.).

   b. *Vat. gr.* 778, fols. 2^{r}-5^{v}(14th c.).
      Edition based on this manuscript published in *Horologium* (Rome, 1876), 324-27.

   c. *Vat. gr.* 1746, fols. 247^{r}-248^{v} (14th c.).

10. κανὼν ἱκετήριος εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν.

    Ed. in Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη (Rome, 1885), 732-37.

    Inc. ἐν βυθῷ κατέστρωσέ ποτε...
    Des. τὸ συμφέρον ποίησον.

INDEX TO GREEK TEXT OF *LOGOS*

Included are proper names and words of medical, theological, rhetorical, philosophical, monastic, liturgical, or lexicographical significance.

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